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ABSTRACT

An evaluation of twenty-five national pilot experimental projects in permanent education conducted in European countries was done to provide a foundation for theoretical work, to update prior studies, and to create an awareness of the problems of permanent education. Three- to five-day evaluation visits were made to each of the project sites by a team of experts. Data was collected on the experiments which involved basic education, secondary and tertiary education, and continuing education of adults. The findings indicated that (1) the redirection of present school education towards an integrated educational policy depends upon a successful connection between the planners and the organizers controlling school reform on the one hand, and the necessary trials and errors of the various experiments on the other, (2) that the university which seeks to meet the problems of contemporary life should agree to a diversification of its functions, provide training for an occupation, and provide continuing educational opportunities for adults, and (3) permanent education can be either a system of recurrent education consisting of reorganizing present school structures to bring them into touch with the flow of life in general and working life in particular (permanent schooling) or a system providing a continuous and effective opportunity for personal development (permanent personal development). (EM)

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STEERING GROUP
ON PERMANENT EDUCATION

WORK OF CONSOLIDATION OF THE EVALUATION OF PILOT EXPERIMENTS IN THE PERMANENT EDUCATION FIELD

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INTRODUCTION

by

Mr. Bertrand Schwartz

The aim of this introduction is to facilitate reading the work of consolidation by supplying very concise information about the events which led up to it and by placing it in relation to the endeavours of the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe in the permanent education field.

Historical background

From 1967 to 1971, the different stages of the conceptualisation phase of permanent education led to the publication of a collection of studies (1), a summary of these studies (2) and finally a "development scheme" (3).

The next phase was to transform this abstract concept caracterised by a long-term perspective, through confronting it with reality, into a working hypothesis.

In 1972 the Council for Cultural Cooperation set up a Steering Group on Permanent Education responsible for evaluating, under the leadership of a Project Director, the national pilot experiments in this field.

The project was brought to the attention of the member governments, who were asked to inform the Steering Group of actions taking place in their countries which met a certain number of criteria formulated on the basis of the previous studies and adopted as criteria for selection :

Suggested criteria for the selection of pilot experiments for study and evaluation

These experiments should :

1. have an important bearing on the work of more than one of the permanent committees of the CCC;

2. be in course of execution and should not be merely in the planning stage;

3. exemplify the practical application of one or more of the main principles of permanent education. Among the most important of these are :

    a. the promotion of the process of learning throughout life, whether for vocational or non-vocational reasons;

    b. the promotion from the very earliest stages of education of the will and the capacity to learn and to form independent judgments, as opposed to the mere assimilation of factual knowledge;

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(1) Out of print.

(2) "Permanent Education - The Basis and Essentials" Council of Europe (1973) 2nd edition.

(3) "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy" Council of Europe (1971).

c. the promotion of a co-ordination and co-operation between educational agencies, so that education may be seen as a continuous process extending over all stages and walks of life;

d. the promotion of the means of continuous review of educational systems from within, with the active participation of the teachers and with particular reference to curriculum reform;

e. the promotion of equality of education opportunity;

f. the promotion of participation by those educated in the educational process itself;

4. involve a reasonably large public and relate to a representative sample of those affected by the problem studied;

5. be based on clearly expressed hypotheses and have precise objectives;

6. have educational implications extending beyond their own boundaries, so that the lessons learnt from them can readily be applied in other places and circumstances.

Between 1972 and 1976, 25 of these actions proposed by the governments were chosen and then visited and evaluated by the members of the Steering Group on Permanent Education. (1)

The question was to see how far these contributions were the reflection of current practice, or, on the other hand, were still marginal notes on a utopian ideal. This evaluation was thus designed to provide a foundation for theoretical work, to update the "Fundamentals of an integrated educational policy" and to prepare materials for a broad information campaign to create an awareness of the problems of permanent education.

Organisation and working methods of the Steering Group

Each of these visits was prepared by a national correspondent. The Project Director called all the national correspondents together annually, to explain the objectives of the visits and to complete the organisational arrangements necessary for ensuring the gathering of information relevant to the objectives.

The correspondents then had to write a monograph (containing full factual data), on the experiment which was visited, and to accompany the groups (2 to 4 experts accompanied by the Project Director or one of his assistants and a member of the Secretariat) which made the visits. These evaluation visits lasted 3 to 5 days.

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(1) See list in the appendix.

The Steering Group provided itself with working tools intended to allow the evaluation work to be carried out as objectively as possible.

In order to reduce the risk of subjectivity, and also in order to organise the comparison between the working hypotheses and the lessons to be drawn from the experiments considered, the Steering Group equipped itself with an analytical guide of the pilot experiments.

This guide was designed as a tool for analysing content enabling thereby a gradual formulation of the principal features of the "Permanent Education" prospect. It was governed by educational considerations and did not attempt to cover all the political, economic, organisational, administrative and financial variables of a permanent education system.

This analytical guide was centred on the Steering Group's project. It was applied to each experiment visited, and was thus gradually added to and improved.

The basic principle of the procedure was as follows: it was not a question of evaluating the pilot experiments by reference to their aims alone, nor by reference to the objective limitations they encountered, but by reference to general criteria, those of the Steering Group, which were designed as so many indicators pointing towards the development of a permanent education approach. It was equally important for these criteria to be tested against concrete cases, so that they and the tentative references on the basis of which they were determined were themselves evaluated as much as the experiments visited.

Some of the people to whom the Steering Group talked were accordingly more puzzled by the interest shown in their difficulties, even failures, than in their successes.

It was, moreoever, here that the Steering Group experienced one of its rare working problems. It obviously had no right to jeopardise in any way the progress of the experiments, which in some cases were finding it hard to win recognition in the prevailing socio-political climate while investigating the future.

The Steering Group came up against a second difficulty, an internal one this time, and connected with the interpretation of the facts observed. This difficulty was particularly (as was normal) bound up with the group's disparity both with respect to the educational experience of its members and their ideological standpoint. These difficulties lessened with time for it must be said that this experience represented for the members of the Steering Group themselves an extraordinary opportunity for self-training.

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The reader might find the tone of this consolidated report rather critical considering that the pilot experiments were chosen for their aspects of innovation, dynamism and generosity; he may even conclude that the project studied is more than debatable, because of the emphasis placed on the disadvantages. There are two reasons for this:

- The first is the direction the studies took. Obviously, the reports could have drawn a comparison between the experiments visited and what was happening around them, or what had happened before. The analysis of the experiments visited would thus have constituted a comparison between past and present situations. It is clear, therefore, that in so far as pilot projects were selected, the advantages would have outweighed the disadvantages and the reports would thus have been very favourable and positive.

  The Steering Group did not opt to work in that direction. Quite the reverse, it decided to study all the projects in relation to an ideal entity: that described in "Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy". This approach has consequently emphasised the critical aspect.

- The second reason is connected with the fact that, at this research stage, the Steering Group aimed at methodically analysing the shortcomings and the risks of deviation.

Though, for the most part, the projects studied represent considerable progress compared with current national situations, they frequently constitute only a transition towards even more radical solutions, as is clearly demonstrated in the consolidated report.

There can be no doubt that readers who are familiar with the concept of permanent education will see from the very principles underlying the projects all the advantages that they present. The authors therefore felt that, in most cases, a sentence would suffice to show where the value of an experiment lay and that it was more important to study the problems and, in that sense, to criticise.

They have even tried to do more, considering that they were in duty bound to examine the problems from all angles, and from the policy angle in particular.

Another reproach which might be levelled at the consolidated report is that it is "old", that it is "out-of-date": a project, visited at the outset, will inevitably have developed meanwhile and the changes which have occurred have not been taken into account.

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Finally, it may be criticised for not having established connections between the past and present stages of the experiments visited. It is a fact that it is usually impossible to understand an experiment unless it is situated in time and space, in an historical process, and in its environment. These aspects were taken into account as far as possible, but were not described for lack of space.

The reports of the visits, of which only a few have been published, gave rise to two interim consolidated reports which were taken up in the final consolidation, the subject of this document.

Conclusion

The purpose of recalling the procedure is to enable the reader to appreciate better what may reasonably be expected from the consolidated document we are submitting. It is obvious that our findings are not the fruit of rigorous scientific investigation and that many reservations may be expressed as to the project's methodological validity.

It is also clear that a great effort has been made by an international organisation to turn its thoughts to active research and to try to look as objectively as is possible in his context at a problem whose study more often gives rise to general considerations or utopian proposals than to the presentation of facts in their complexity.

And so the Steering Group has sought to do something that is more political than scientific - to assemble all the terms of a complex problem in order to kindle and shed light on and stimulate a debate which, considering what is at stake, should in our opinion be thrown open much more widely to embrace the function and evolution of our educational systems.

It is in this spirit that the consolidated report has been drawn up.

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BASIC EDUCATION

by

Mr. Daniel Hameline

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INTRODUCTION

We are accustomed to hail as one of the great conquests of modern education the fact that, during the past hundred years, we have put our finger on the original features in childhood and have, therefore, progressively established systems of education in which the school has ceased to be a scaling-down of the adult world.

No doubt this achievement can be accurately styled a "conquest", for the school bequeathed to us by previous centuries showed little comprehension of what is nowadays a common-place - that a child is a being in process of development. It was a "conquest" also in that, thanks to the spread of democratic principles at the end of the nineteenth century and the general increase in population, the number of children who benefited from it ran into millions. A modern nation is one that sends its children to school. Indeed, the principles on which "the new education" was based were closely allied to the democratic ideal and most of the great ideas that gave inspiration to the school of today were attempts to put this ideal into operation at the level of the classroom. A democratic system of education came to mean two things a hundred years ago, not without some risk of misunderstanding: firstly, the extension to as many children as possible of the advantages of a school education; secondly, a classroom education that was inspired by democratic principles. Children were only to be segregated like lower class citizens in order that they might be better equipped to take their places later in the community.

But the fact remains that they were segregated. The great educationalists of "school for life" and "school through life", and even those who extolled "school through work" in Germany in the second half of the nineteenth century all considered any move towards "opening up" the school a retrograde step. Paradoxically, "la scola" retained its status as a "closed" institution precisely because it was regarded as a preparation for life. But this attitude coincided with popular feeling also. The new school represented a victory which democrats had only won after a hard struggle. Child labour had only just been abolished in mine and factory, and the exploitation of children still seemed a constant danger from which they must be preserved. Much of the contemporary opposition to Illich's theories are due to the persistance of this failing. Even the USSR, from herein onwards, rejected as left-wing fantasies, despite their apparently highly Marxist character, projects for fusing school education and productive labour.

The twentieth century was to be, therefore, "the century of the child" - to use a celebrated term. "The century of the school-child" we may now call it with greater accuracy when we consider the tremendous efforts that nations have made over the past hundred years to provide their children with a school education. But, as is well known, this drive has lost its impetus in the second half of the

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century, and given way to a feeling of disillusionment. We seem to be in danger of losing the race to achieve four main objectives: worldwide literacy has not kept pace with the planners' forecasts; equality of (educational) opportunity is only making very slow headway; teaching methods as applied in educational systems are not in practice being reformed in accordance with new educational theories; millions of children and adolescents are herded together within school walls. These young people do not feel at home in what could have been their natural habitat and they are integrating badly into adult society. To call this state of affairs a crisis is no more than an obvious statement of fact, even when the repercussions are not noticeable.

The modern democratic nations have no alternative in this remaining quarter of the century. They must merge their school educational systems with a totally different concept, that of permanent education. In adopting the document on Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy (1) in 1971, the Council for Cultural Co-operation deliberately adopted this course. There is no need to revert here to the alterations which this new approach will entail: the whole process will involve new methods, some of which are still untried.

In fact, the task of the Steering Group on Permanent Education was partly to ascertain, by examining the situation of transition in which we now find ourselves, to what extent projects already implemented could show the way towards an integrated educational policy and thus serve as a guide as to what course to follow; furthermore, the general outcome of such experiments, whether they have produced successes or failure, would still be of value.

To refer to a transitional situation is to draw attention at the outset to the basic uncertainty of all such attempts at reform carried out bravely in a context which their very existence condemns, although they offer some hope of solution of its problems.

The various experiments investigated by the missions of 1972 to 1976 are a good example of this uncertainty. They reveal possible avenues of approach, but also obstacles, impediments and possibly dead-ends, too. Inevitably, such experiments imply in day-to-day terms that the twentieth century is no longer "the century of the child"

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(1) Cf Council of Europe Brochure (1971).

In the present report, the concept of integrated education means three things: (1) units of learning are inter-related and not comparmentalised; (2) learning activities form part of the learners' total personal experience and make use of that experience; (3) teaching is conceived in terms of the concrete contexts in which learning will logically be applied.

as it was styled at its inception: or at least that it is no longer the century of the child "considered in isolation". Such educational values as change, creativeness, use of the imagination, learning etc are no longer restricted to childhood. On the other hand, such values as productivity, future orientation, programming, strategy development and control of living conditions will no longer need to be postponed until the child has at last become an adult.

However, these pilot experiments also emphasise the specific character of school education, both as to time and as to place. It is carried out for specific periods of time and in specific places. There is evidently a contradiction in all this. Is it a survival (from earlier educational practice) which is to be explained by the fact that these pilot-experiments belong to a period of transition? These schools in Sweden, the German Federal Republic, Ireland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom are still in many respects traditional schools. Does their specific character as schools - which distinguishes them from all other educational or socialisation agencies - go to show how out-of-date they are, like the whole system against the background of which they stand out? Or should we assume that, in a policy deliberately aimed at introducing and integrating permanent education, the school should still function relatively separately so far as time and place are concerned, and that it should be organised differently from other forms of education? This is certainly the assumption made in Fundamentals for an integrated educational policy. In that event, the problem is how to adapt a school system which has inherited its features from another century, but is also a vital component in the new educational policy, to other fields of education. Herein lies the ambiguity of the present situation: the school educational system whose entire history shows that it tends to stand for conservation by remaining unchanged is expected to be one of the driving forms for carrying through a change in educational policy. To all appearances, this is a gamble. But, paradoxically enough, a realistic attitude can sometimes look like gambling on impossibilities.

The Interim Report on the evaluation of pilot experiments gave a consolidated account of investigations carried out:

- in Sweden at Malmö (Föl project);
- in France: in Paris (nursery schools), and Grenoble (elementary schools and a "collège d'enseignement secondaire" at Villeneuve);
- in the United Kingdom (primary schools in Oxfordshire and Schools Council);
- in Switzerland at Geneva ("Ecole des Parents").

It would be tedious to recapitulate the findings of this interim report, apart from stressing both its relevance and its scope. We will, therefore, assume that its contents are familiar

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to readers of the present report, while expressing the hope that they will refresh their memories by rereading it when they have the opportunity.

Two more investigations have been carried out since it was drawn up:

- in Ireland (comprehensive/community schools);
- in the Federal Republic of Germany ("Orientation cycle" of Lower Saxony).

They have largely confirmed the findings and forecasts of the Interim Report. We will revert shortly to some of their essential features. But, so that the fresh data they contain are put to good use and to carry the Steering Group's thoughts on the subject a stage further, the present report will adopt as its starting point the final remarks and the implications for the future put forth in "Item 0" of the Revised Analysis Guide. The problem we will try to discuss on the basis of this collection of data from these different countries is whether or not the experiments inspected really do foreshadow an integrated educational policy. In what way do these isolated educational innovations foreshadow a reorganisation of schools generally, such as would make basic education both the first step towards permanent education and its symbolic embodiment? To give an approximate answer to this question in the light of the information at our disposal we will follow the five sub-divisions of Item 0 of the Analysis Guide.

But, first, it will be helpful if we give a rapid summary of the two investigations of 1975, and compare them with the four visits carried out earlier.

I. A CONFIRMATION OF PREVIOUS STUDIES

The creation of both the Lower Saxon "Orientierungsstufe" (OS) or orientation cycle, and the Irish comprehensive schools, was prompted by the same desires as those which prompted the innovations studied earlier in the United Kingdom, Sweden and France. This is apparent from the terms used in the original projects for their formation.

They have the deliberate aim of reducing socio-cultural inequality. Correspondingly "learning" activity is redefined in terms of individualisation, of autonomy and of the personality fulfilment and socialisation of the children who are treated as actors in their educational process, and not as passive listeners.

So far as the first aim is concerned, the comprehensive schools' curriculum tries to provide an alternative to the two extremes of the traditional educational system which lead to pronounced socio-cultural inequality: on the one hand, an "upper class" channel involving prolonged secondary studies in private schools and

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culminating in higher education; on the other, a "lower class" channel involving a short period of vocational training in a state school with no prospect of higher education. It is easy to deduce from the above description the socio-economic origins of the two strata of population attending these two different types of school. The creation of comprehensive schools favours the rationalisation of the existing system and is intended to reduce the rivalry between the two different types of school, the secondary and the vocational, by allowing pupils to pass from the one to the other, and enabling pupils at vocational schools to have access to a higher education. This is the programme of the community schools.

Similarly, the creation of the Orientation Cycle in Lower Saxony is intended to rationalise and facilitate children's access to secondary studies ("Hauptschule", "Realschule" or "Gymnasium") by a better assessment of their capacities, by assisting the most backward, by keeping in touch with parents and, "so far as possible", by some mixing of social classes. Despite the fact that the OS has only been recently introduced, there are indications that failures at the "Gymnasium" from among pupils from the OS are decreasing. The same wish to reduce selection by school failure exists among teachers at the three comprehensive schools visited in Ireland.

The reorientation of "learning" as an activity has led to attempts in Ireland comparable to those studied in British open area schools , or in French "integrated" schools. The Irish schools are aiming at opening up the traditional class and readapting instruction in basic subjects around tasks carried out with the help of a highly equipped educational resource centre (specialised documentation, media, teaching aids, resource persons). Their architecture is intended to make for freedom of movement and the training, isolation or regrouping of teams as well as for individual work or the assembly of the entire school community.

This abolition of rigid structures is inspired by the same hopes as those which gave rise to the experiments analysed previously. The time/space redistribution involved affects the motivation of pupils and develops their sense of responsibility. It makes it possible to try out new interdisciplinary curricula in which the learning of school subjects is no longer sealed off artificially as a lesson in one particular subject given by an isolated teacher presiding ritually over a class. These new curricula make it possible to try out new combinations of basic subjects (mother tongue, mathematics, manual work) with practical or exploratory tasks, so that various branches of knowledge are brought into play according to questions asked, and by way of providing answers to them which may themselves lead to further questions, leading in due course to systematic progress generally.. This procedure has the twofold advantage of giving priority to discovery over exposition and thus to learning over teaching. Moreover, it restores the process itself of the development of knowledge to its proper place in the learning process. But, obviously, this new approach is the reverse of that found in the traditional school

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class where exposition preceded the pupils' questions, the latter being often, and absurdly enough, taken over by the teacher himself on the grounds that he was controlling what they had learnt.

Another reason for optimism, due to the Irish experiments in particular, and which also corresponds with what was noted during the visits carried out earlier, is the fact that these curricula are so conceived as to correspond systematically and over a wide field with the terminal abilities of the pupils. They are scientifically assessed by the Research Centre for Curriculum Development of Trinity College Dublin. Here again, the change in prospects is considerable. It enables proper emphasis to be given to one of the basic conditions for a permanent education: that teaching should no longer be centred on the teacher, but on the learner and the progress that he makes.

Finally, we can see both in the OS experiment now launched in Lower Saxony and in the new Irish schools the rough outline of a new type of educational community similar to that emerging in the experimental schools at Villeneuve/Grenoble or to the open area schools of Oxfordshire. The teacher's role is changing. It now entails continuous collaboration and a reallotment of tasks on the general principle of team teaching and giving priority to animation over inculcation of knowledge. Moreover, the children's families are now brought into close association with these projects, are kept better informed and are welcome to enter the parts of the school where learning/teaching is in progress. Lastly, the school administration can no longer confine its activities to day-to-day routine and to maintaining the traditional order of things. The supervision of the new school necessitates interchange of views and giving priority to scientific assessment over administrative control.

Even so, as in the case of the experiments studied previously, the new German and Irish schools arouse as many doubts as hopes. In a transitional situation in which the traditional guidelines are no longer relied upon ,but the new criterion are not firmly established, the innovations introduced cannot be unequivocally accepted as functioning satisfactorily.

This ambivalence can be seen in the attitude of official institutions towards the new state of affairs. On the one hand, they encourage, indeed prescribe it; on the other hand, the old educational provisions are still in operation causing constraints and impediments and accentuating the contradiction between old and new. Thus, in Ireland,the university supports experiments with revised curricula, but the continued existence of a national exam, the Intermediate Certificate Examination, which dominates the curriculum of 12-15 year old pupils, greatly restricts possibilities of innovation when drawing up curricula (1).

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(1) The authorities at Newpark Comprehensive School, Dublin, have dealt with this contradiction by deciding, in agreement with parents, not to enter pupils for the ICE in 1973.

The threat of the examination system with criteria and procedures that are quite contrary to the spirit of the new curricula, is in fact increased by the attitude of some families. All the experiments visited reveal the same ambivalent attitude on the part of parents towards innovation in education. A division of opinion has been noted between families which are "for" and those which are "against", the former being in the majority for as long as innovations remain within certain limits, beyond which they are considered a gamble. For even parents converted to these new integrational practices in education still feel doubts about them which are aggravated by their uncertainty about their children's future. There is grave danger of parents preferring to fall back on the "safe" methods of education, that is to say on methods which are certainly open to criticism, but even so remain the general rule.

Moreover, it is very difficult for many parents, even those with progressive views, to put their own experience at school out of their minds since it has become second nature for them to think in these terms. The fact that the family is essentially a conservative structure with a conservative function, even if its members have a permissive and modern approach to life, militates against a change in its attitude. In the majority of the experiments studied, teachers met with support from parents who belonged to the new middle class - people whose social position encouraged them to be dynamic and hold "progressive" ideas. But in any crisis such parents can easily "become turncoats", revealing an unexperienced attachment to traditions beneath the modern trappings of their behaviour. The risk for teachers is that they may in that even ally themselves with "marginal" elements among the parents, very stimulating for the creative imagination, but scarcely representative of the parent population as a whole.

It is the families of working class background whose attitude is the most ambivalent to judge from all the educational experiments inspected. Their demand for equality takes the form of a basic claim for social justice - at least among the most militant of them. But this demand is accompanied by a mental image of the school which is conservative. The factors which educational sociologists believe are responsible for perpetuating this inequality are seen by those who suffer from it as the normal means of eliminating it. The experience of the "Ecole des Parents" at Geneva is an eloquent proof of this: the small percentage of parents (10%) willing to embark on their own education cannot even conceive of educational procedures other than the traditional methods carried to grotesque limits. It is therefore very important to stress, as several rapporteurs have already, to what extent the introduction of schools into a given socio-economic environment plays a vital part in determining the course that educational initiatives will take. Since socio-cultural equality is one of the chief aims of an integrated educational policy, the "striking results" achieved among a population sociologically attuned to educational experiments should be treated with some caution. To put it more bluntly: educational innovation often tends to be most helpful to those who least need it, whereas those whose need is greatest tend to be its foremost opponents.

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The same ambivalent attitude is to be found amongst teachers. Studies carried out by the Steering Group bear witness to the enthusiasm felt by many of the teachers taking part in these experiments: many of them feel that their occupations have been radically transformed in the way they had hoped. But these same teachers are unanimous in stressing the difficulties and the precarious nature of the undertaking. Some methods meet with outright opposition. A spirit of solidarity, a capacity for working as a team and ability to analyse events and improvise solutions are called for such as do not form part of traditional teaching experience.

As we know, many teachers dislike this fresh definition of their professional responsibilities for reasons which are not always ignoble. But whether their resistance is for political or emotional reasons, it is certainly apparent enough; and it gives rise to considerable doubts as to whether the educational system is capable of promoting the spread, within its field of action, of experiments so boldly contrary to received ideas.

Understandably, reports are unanimous in stressing the importance of initial and further training of teachers which is closely linked with the need for a body of school inspectors to support, assist and facilitate the work of the teachers, rather than to control or pass judgement on it. All these experiments are in themselves valuable training, provided that this training includes an analysis of what is in fact happening in the experiment. But how can those who play a part in permanent education be dispensed from ensuring that they, too, are being trained in the very spirit of permanent education?

One final ambiguous point which needs clearing up and to which we would like to draw the reader's attention, as the rapporteurs also have done: to point out the harmful effects of the traditional system of education is not necessarily to prove the excellence of the new methods and practices that are replacing it. There is no doubt that individual learning, as well as overall equality of opportunity, benefit from this reallocation of methods and practices in school space and time. But these qualitative advantages cannot always be assessed indisputably. The definition of educational objectives in terms of skills to be acquired certainly makes available, in theory, an instrument that enables one to gauge the "yield" from learning. But, if one seeks to formalise this instrument too much, there is a risk of the principle defeating its own object: whereas ostensibly it defends the learner's autonomy and his right to self-assessment, there is a danger of its circumscribing him within a combination of objectives that have been thought out without reference to him personally, or even to those directly responsible for educating him. There is a danger of the various skills that he will be supposed to have acquired by the time he is due to leave the school being reduced to one - a capacity to cope, at the end of his studies, with the most traditional series of examinations possible. If, on the other hand, the instrument described above is insufficiently formalised, the objectives are reduced to general aims that are quite as vague as the declared aims of traditional teaching methods. It is difficult to define the ideal combination of circumstances under which education by objectives operated effectively. Not only can this method encourage the emancipation of the learners concerned, but it can also ensure

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that they become domesticated. For these reasons, the attempts now being made to reshape curricula in Ireland (Social and Environmental Studies Project, Integrated Science Curriculum Innovation Project) will be followed with real interest.

Another query that arises concerning more than the educational practices at the schools visited : the originators of the practices themselves draw attention to the difficulty involved in introducing facilities for individual education that do not reverse the effects of the traditional school system by penalising the "strong" pupils instead of the weak or backward ones. A precarious balance has yet to be found, as has been pointed out by those responsible for planning and launching the "Orientierungsstufe" in Lower Saxony. An added difficulty is that projects firmly opposed to inequality can also, whilst providing remedial facilities for backward pupils, continue to make use of procedures that lead unconsciously to segregation - such as the composition or certain forms of rigid vertical groupings which, in effect, restore "streaming" practices.

Finally, it is not certain that the suppression of encyclopaedic teaching, with its rigidity and over-hasty systematisation, is in itself enough to secure an improvement in education methods that are centred upon the learners, even if it is an essential condition. Such teaching, which had the apparent advantage at least of requiring a logical exposition of the subjects studied, can too easily be replaced by a mosaic of random impressions and miscellaneous tasks unless its suppression is accompanied by the unofficial return of the old hierarchy of "subjects", or unless schools lessons in their most academic form are introduced prematurely into nursery schools, in response to pressure from certain parents.

It will be realised that these reservations are not a criticism of the new measures initiated at the schools visited. Not to shut one's eyes to the difficulties that face them in the present situation is to do them justice and support them. It is a situation which is itself liable to change, but even so one cannot predict which of its various component elements will prevail. One thing, however, is certain : it would be a great mistake to expect the purely pedagogical element to provide the vital driving force. Voluntary improvement or indeed the radical change of educational procedures at given moments and places, can be admissions of powerlessness to alter structures or influence the central organs where decisions are made. Pedagogical activism cannot be a substitute for strategy.

Even so, it is equally true in a transitional situation in which all the landmarks are shifting, altering alignments and perspectives, that if educational systems are to be reinvigorated - and, in the event their prospective role in an integrated education is also to be made fully apparent - the general acceptance of educational experiments whose "trials and errors" are instructive for everyone is no less necessary than the planning of technocrats. In this connection, the mass media, which both for good and ill are the great upholders of contemporary attitudes of ambiguity, help to alert public opinion and to contribute to its ideas about "school", by reflecting, even in an exaggerated or distorted way, these "experiments" in integrated education. They nourish the imagination by presenting it with "a dream which could come true", as people are apt to say nowadays. And that particular dream is one variable of policy.

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II. ANTICIPATING PERMANENT EDUCATION

Our object in this second part of our report is perhaps to give substance to the "dream" just mentioned. For the innovator "on paper" is in the same ambiguous position as the innovator "on the spot". The future to which he refers lies between the present and the conditional and is located near an optative that can bring little influence to bear on current circumstances. Even so, it is by exploring the latter that one is most likely to obtain guides to the future. The question we must ask ourselves is, therefore, as follows : in what way do these experiments, which form part of the existing school system, anticipate to some extent an integrated educational system ? In other words, what are the features of continuous adult, education whose principles and preliminaries are to be found in this reorganisation of schooling ?

To answer this question, we will refer as already mentioned to the last pages of the Revised Analysis Guide headed "Item 0", where "the variables which referred to principles of organisation of a permanent education system", have been grouped together.

This reference necessarily requires, straight away, that the principle of continuity, the basic principle of integrated education, be raised at the beginning of this study devoted to schools, which is why the various stages of compulsory schooling are grouped together : pre-elementary school, elementary school, first phase of secondary education. This logical necessity corresponds also to the project of basic education. Training integrated in a process of permanent education can only be conceived of as uniform with this process. But in the present educational situation, as we all know, initial education and continuing education are of a different nature to each other : the organisation of space and time is contradictory, and one still frequently hears the argument that the education of adults is based upon criteria and methods used in primary education.

Clearly, it is not our purpose to deny the difference between childhood and maturity, although the distinction drawn between the two is deeply influenced by ideological considerations and subject to considerable variations, historical or ethnic. What we propose is simply to avoid introducing this distinction too soon, that we try to suspend temporarily its effects on our ideas about a complete and integrated education. To treat the school as the first stage in an integrated educational practice is perhaps a good way of avoiding thinking of such a practice as the mere prolongation and the perpetuation carried to the point of caricature of school childishness.

Having made this reserve, we can now isolate the postulate we wish to put forth about early schooling : continuous education and initial education are isomorphic. Primary education, if it is to be the first step in a process of integration, must itself carry on integrative function. A school career must appear as one single entity. For only the continuity which this implies can enable educative discontinuities to occur. Here, we will turn to two ideas put forward under Item 01 of our analysis guide.

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1. Twofold function of the basic education

In an integrated educational policy, the basic education is both a real stage in this policy and an "archaic" stage during which learners develop ideas about the symbolic significance of education. It is in these two respects that it has a bearing on subsequent operations.

a. The first real stage

Basic education complies with the definition of every educational action : when the children come to leave the school and, gradually, even during the time they are there, they will be able to make use of skills that are useful - that is to say skills which, whatever their field, can be put into practice and tested. These skills will be able to be used whether in the short, medium or long term in contexts which may well be very different from that in which they were learnt in the first place.

This observation, commonplace though it is, embodies a principle which, although over-ambitious, cannot but be one of the main features of an integrated education : the principle of transfer of learning. Even the traditional school adopted it as the cardinal point of its educational ethic : what was learnt at school could be useful in other contexts. Thus, prolonged training in Latin and Greek composition and translation, although admittedly of no practical value since the people who spoke these languages had long since disappeared, was held to be justified by the mental agility which it gave in apprehending constructing or taking to pieces problems or situations that had nothing to do with dead languages. The benefits of a classical education were long-term.

This belief in the transfer of learning cannot fail to grow stronger during a period of cultural and vocational mobility. It is becoming more and more likely that knowledge acquired through any kind of education will have to be transferred to contexts far removed from that where it was acquired. Teachers are paying more and more attention to their pupils' ability to make this transfer, so as to render it effective and controllable. The celebrated formula "learning to learn" has summarised this concept once and for all, except that its application involves a continual to and fro between learning to learn and learning to "recycle" learning. The key as to how to secure the best possible learning transfer lies in this successful alternation : to retain things precisely, but not rigidly, and to acquire in conjunction with this valuable minimum of knowledge the ability to alter the use made of it according to circumstances, to derive fresh practical value from it which may not have been predictable when the lessons were taking place.

This was the programme of the traditional school since it is a basic principle of all education that no activity at school is ever an end in itself, but always is aimed "elsewhere" and at being used "otherwise". However, the failures of this traditional education in this respect are patently obvious. For example, no truly decisive proof has ever been forthcoming as to the real value of transferred learning in the case of classical languages. No doubt, an overall effect is indisputable for the bias in their favour has led to cultural habits

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of which the sententious use of a few Greek or Latin aphorisms is by no means the only example. However, it is not clear that knowledge of these languages improves a person's logical capacities as the Belgian educational psycholotist Osterrieth demonstrated in 1964. More recently, reforms in the teaching of mathematics have been based on the same assumption, but give rise to similar doubts especially in the minds of many physicists. Although ostensibly devised as a useful instrument in other fields of knowledge, these reforms have been criticised for turning mathematics into a closed field regarded by those who are learning it as a foreign body in the middle of a world already foreign enough.

Another observation, which adds to the weight of the doubts expressed above and which arises from the experimental psychology of learning : the context is learnt together with the task. Much of the material transmitted at school is meaningful only in the context of the classroom, and then only during the actual lesson. To give but one example, the physics of teachers and their pupils is neither that of the laboratory nor that of engineers working in the field. Often, it is simply a science of checking, where things have been planned and set up to illustrate the truths in the textbooks, which are themselves simplified for the purposes of demonstration. We know what men working in the field always recommend to graduates fresh from the university : "First, forget everything you have learned so far". But the humourous side of school life is full of stories which show that the same state of affairs exists there too. The school is a world apart where things happen which have no meaning outside school walls, which literally have no reason to be. And remarks like "that will be useful to you later" made by parents and teachers are not enough to convince most present day school children that what they are learning at school is useful to them outside the school walls.

But, in addition to this, the researches of the last ten years in the sociology of education, particularly after the work of Basil Bernstein, the British sociologist, have shown that the school "code" was for children from underprivileged families one of the main obstacles to the learning transfer. Statistics show that children from the wealthier classes adapt themselves far more easily to school ways and linguistic standards. There is a connivance between the latter and the language and manners of the cultivated classes which is altogether lacking between the speech of the masses and the "code" taught in school. To bring home the seriousness of this handicap, the French sociologist Baudelot (1966) compared the learning of their alleged "mother" tongue by deprived children to the learning of a foreign language, for they cannot use the language of school at home. Hence, the failure and the artificiality of education.

We are living and will no doubt long continue to live in an age of approximation. Psychology provides us with a mass of experimental and fragmentary studies, so refined to meet the requirements of the laboratory and of objective research, that it is difficult to see how all this work can lead to useful conclusions in the classroom, where the parameters are less easily controlled. All this admittedly keeps researchers busy, but it is to be feared that those engaged in teaching pay little attention to it.

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However, the question remains one of crucial importance. Insofar as integrated education depends, as we have seen from the experiments described, upon a time-space redistribution in education (cf Item 01), learning transfer remains a basic process - but in a different context which may affect its application. Indeed, two new elements are visible.

The first element is external, insofar as an integrated education policy aims at putting an end to the isolation of school learning and readapting it to learning in human existence in both social and individual terms, this question of learning transfer becomes a particularly knotty problem, although to some extent simplified by a certain uniformity of tasks and skills. The fact that curricula are based upon skills to be developed, rather than upon subjects to be studied is a powerful guarantee that learning transfer will operate from school exercises to the various forms of training of professional and cultural life.

But a second, internal, element introduces a change into the situation. Education consists of a variety of educational procedures which bring into play many different potentialities among both individuals and groups. This diversity, as we have said, carries with it the hidden danger of dispersion. But it also includes a factor which makes for integration in no uncertain way : teaching, being centred upon the activity of the learners, makes the latter themselves the mediators and they are led by the integrative function that has devolved upon them to learning actions and not to simple behaviour patterns. We can assume with the educational psychologists that the functioning of organisms "as a whole", provided it is assisted and encouraged, is the condition on which learning transfer operates. The partitioning between the "faculties" (knowing, acting, feeling) is reproduced not only in the whole notion of school tasks, but also in the architecture of the school, the furniture in the classrooms, the planned allotment of time ... and the perception of social and vocational values. The difficulties which the traditional school meets with in trying to promote satisfactory learning transfer is due to this partitioning to judge from all the evidence : don't let your heart know what your brain is doing, exercise your body in another time and place from where you use your mind, and keep out of all that sex.

Now this partitioning, which reproduces in education the partitioning that exists in the social world, as well as its values, takes no account of the true functioning of the human psyche for which one can say "everything includes everything" : I learn with all that I am in the moment that I learn, and any rejection of my potentialities affects my learning adversely. Many "bad pupils", as is well known, are learners whose human potential has been badly mobilised.

But it then becomes evident that the thoroughly "psychological" idea of making learners function like intelligent integrative systems includes within it a questioning, like that of the architecture of the school and its curriculum, of the social architecture of the values and hierarchies which it is the task of the traditional school education to represent as natural. The "policy" of integrated education is certainly political.

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Thus, as the first real stage in an integrated education, the basic education is brought up against this formidable problem of learning transfer, but with a better chance, if the problem is seen in its entirety, of finding solutions even if the latter are full of implications that are incompatible with ideas held hitherto.

But this transference of learning is inserted in time in a way which is not uniform. Learning now a simple electric circuit works at elementary school can, in the short term, be transferred into the practical ability of mending fuses at home. In the middle term this learning is incorporated into a progressive curriculum in which pupils will have to "detach themselves" from their knowledge or know how acquired at the outset of their school education (when what they learnt was provisional and "simple") to enter the complexities of the subject. The continuity of a course of learning is characterised by the interlocking of the progressive parts of the curriculum : what follows confirms what the pupil has already seen and reinforces what he has already done. But the discontinuity of such course appears in the form of disconnections, ie the new statement of fact or reality contradicts what he has seen or done already. The field is still the same, whereas in our first example it was a matter of transposing what had been learnt from school to daily life. But this does not make the transference any easier : learners know in an abstract sense that the continuity is there (eg it is still an electricity course), but often suffer deeply from discontinuity. In the long term, which we should no doubt equate here with the permanent effects of acculturation and autonomisation, the knowledge acquired about the simple electric circuit will be brought into use quite as fully and according to circumstances in tinkering with or mending gadgets or appliances or in spare-time hobbies or in intellectual habits - like comparing physical and social phenomena in order to explain the latter. This is not to mention the manifold other effects this knowledge can have, such as the ability to draw diagrams, to represent things symbolically and so on (1).

To think of an integrated basic education within a permanent educational framework is to try to determine the connections between short, medium and long term in accordance with the two dimensions set forth in the Revised Analysis Guide at Item 02 : vertical integration : how can study courses be organised that are both continuous and mobile ? Horizontal integration : how can one introduce this course into educational fields that are both diversified and unified simultaneously ?

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(1) Or to make one refer when drafting a report to the two phenomena "alternating current and direct current" when speaking of continuity and discontinuity! But this free association is a perfect example of the ambivalence of metaphorical thought : things become easier to grasp, but there is loss of precision. The scientific approach to phenomena, of course, consists in regulating and even neutralising metaphor, so that it may be replaced by the operational concept.

Table 1 below is an attempt to illustrate these connections. We have tried to bring out the necessary mobility of the learning process and its "transversal" character which gives it an almost anarchical itinerary in which the "discursus" becomes an "excursus" (heavy line). Turning the study course into a curriculum even when diversified into a series of branches which pupils can cover at different "personalised" speeds requires crossing educational thresholds which represent what we call the middle term. Other fields of learning do not have these thresholds for in their case learning is an occasional occupation, which is only slightly systematised. To maintain a school structure under these circumstances evidently raises the problem of articulation between these different fields : how can one bring learning structures that are hard and fast, programmed, measurable in terms of fixed criteria and calling for rigid and standardised course itineraries, together with learning structures that are occasional, irregular, of practical value a posteriori, difficult to assess and leading to courses that tend to be wandering and somewhat singular?

The attractiveness of the assumptions put forward not long ago by Ivan Illich is that they illustrate the economy of this problem of "cohabitation" in a way which reminds one of the fable of the iron pot and the earthenware pot. The almost inevitable consequence of a system whose requirements are easily catered for is that it sets out to serve itself. Public "service" then ceases to be a service for the public, but adapts its "subjects" to its own ends. The school is no longer a participant in an integrated system, but takes on its own independence as an institution apart.

There is no doubt that a policy of integrated education must remain acutely aware of this possibility which can turn the basic education, on grounds that are as progressive as they could be, into a concentration (1) of children withdrawn from the uncontrolled influences of daily life and subjected to processes of inculcation and indoctrination.

On the other hand, the dilution of learning courses into de-schooled situations can lead to the children becoming subjected to influences which, in various ways, instil the dominant ideology into education without arming the pupil against such influences by arousing his critical faculties, so that he will pick and choose.

It seems to us that it is by trying to control, cybernetically speaking, the articulation of long, medium and short term that a policy of integrated education can avoid the contradiction between these two extremes. And here we return once more to the continuity-discontinuity combination put forward in the Revised Analysis Guide.

The integrated basic education is in fact intended for long term results. This is evident from the postulate of isomorphism between primary school and continuing education to which we referred earlier. Integrated education is the same thing as social existence promoted for its entire duration to permanent joint education. When everything is education, no one thing can claim the title unless it is a reproduction in miniature of the overall picture. It will be noted, incidentally, that this preoccupation with the long term which is such an original feature of permanent education is an example of evolutionary imagery which seems to be derived from the "progressive" ideology underlying all evolutionary philosophies.

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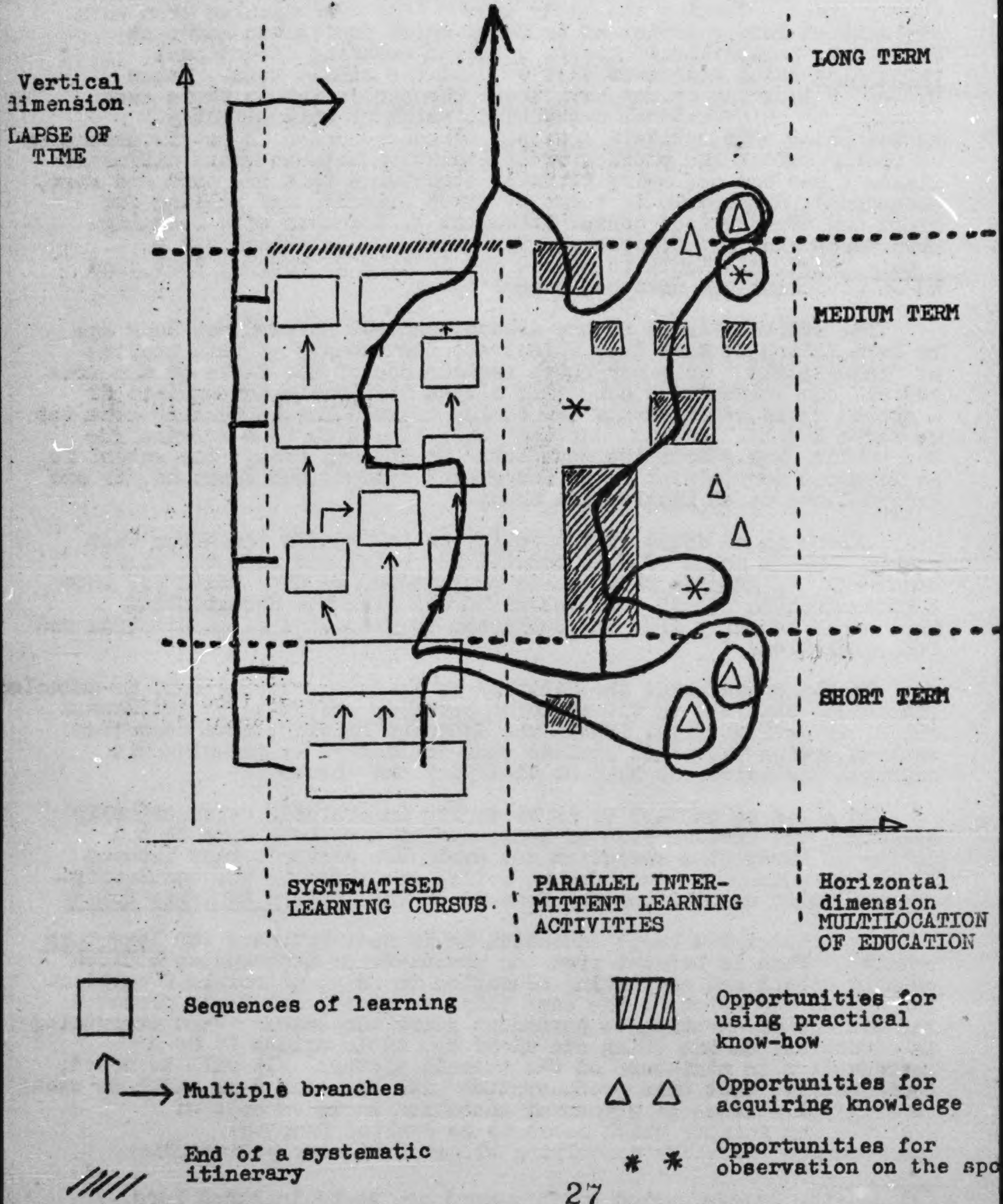
(1) All the images evoked by this word are to be included here...

DIAGRAM I


Vertical dimension
LAPSE OF TIME
LONG TERM
MEDIUM TERM
SHORT TERM
SYSTEMATISED LEARNING CURSUS
PARALLEL INTER-MITTENT LEARNING ACTIVITIES
Horizontal dimension MULTILOCATION OF EDUCATION
Sequences of learning
Multiple branches
End of a systematic itinerary
Opportunities for using practical know-how
Opportunities for acquiring knowledge
Opportunities for observation on the spo

Note on Diagram I

The left hand part of the diagram gives a representation of a course of study, an electricity course for example. Note that it represents a progression; the learning process follows a certain order. The acquisition of certain capacities or knowledge is the essential preliminary to what is acquired subsequently. This learning process is programmed in successive "sequences". A sequence is an articulated organised entity of educational activities that are intended to ensure the learning of concepts or practices at a certain level in the progression. This progression is often the same for everyone. In this example, we have introduced a certain degree of "personalisation" into the process: several avenues can be followed. The curriculum allows for a variety of lines of approach. However, at the end of the course, all pupils have reached the same threshold which is indicated by a qualifying examination, for example.

The tendency in this systematisation of the learning process is towards the organisation, rationalisation and self-sufficiency of the curriculum. It would be possible for pupils to follow the whole curriculum without venturing into the right hand part of the diagram.

In reality, systematic learning must be considered in conjunction with parallel and intermittent learning activities. This is both a handicap and an advantage. Thus, a pupil who has followed a sequence on "simple electric connections" knows that his sequence is preparing him to embark upon a course of study that will last for several years, and will become more complicated as it goes on. But at the same time, he does odd jobs with his father at home, watches a popular television programme on the discovery of electricity, shows great enthusiasm for electric trains at the youth club and, simultaneously, takes part for several months in constructing quite a complicated electric circuit. This "erratic" learning process is represented by the thick line meandering about the diagram in an apparently irrational way. A two-way process develops between the two sides of the diagram: how can it be turned to good acount?

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If this is so, is the concept of permanent education a by-product of the Enlightenment and of Darwin? It certainly conjures up a picture of continuous unitary development in which changes operate, but progressively take the form of a series of qualitative bounds. In this sense, primary education represents a stage which is different in quality from the rest, but is integrated in a process which nevertheless does not need to change its nature.

But this integration, vertical (to revert to the terms of the Analysis Guide) in the long term can only be achieved by a horizontal integration in the short term. So that the basic education may both prepare for and anticipate permanent education and also become part of the continuing process of integrated education, it adopts the latter's main principle: to learn is above all to acquire skills which are justified by being put into practice in a definite time place context. Such skills must, therefore, be organised in curricula punctuated by various progressive activities which will enable them to be put into practice individually or in a group. In other words, in the short term the rule should be to try to translate learning into immediate tangible terms. Preoccupation with long term prospects will prevent this from degenerating into a purely utilitarian activity. However, there is no real skill unless use is made of that skill. Experience in training adults bears witness to the prevalence of this requirement of a public mistrustful of anything which might look like a return to the artificial or the "gratuitous". It is a requirement which should be introduced into teaching at primary level even, despite the risks involved. The question "What's the use of that?" should be regarded as a question that is permanently valid and potentially decisive, although teachers must be reminded that it is for them to prove that the answer "It's of no use at all" which they will often have to give does not necessarily mean that the task is valueless or has been arbitrarily chosen!

School learning does not have to measure up to criteria of "usefulness". But its cultural effects are not on that account gratuitous or even useless extras. Culture is defined in terms of capacity, so school learning teaches the learner how to place himself and to increase this capacity which is a characteristic of all socialised adults. A person who can place himself is capable of identifying himself and others, of measuring things and himself, and of standing at an appropriate position between identification and critical detachment. The recent Bergen Symposium (1) tended in the same direction by showing how it would be possible to define skills and key qualifications. These cannot be reduced to forms of know-how narrowly dictated by the demands of an occupation; they assign to the school its long-term general objectives and its task of individual diagnosis and guidance.

This sense of the usefulness or the uselessness of knowledge or subjects is accentuated in schools as they are at present by the general awareness of "bridges" to be crossed. Here we come to middle term considerations. "It's no use at all" becomes converted into "Yes,

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(1) 8-10 December 1976 (CCC/EES (77) 4).

but it's useful for the exam". The need to learn for examinations becomes the seal of the value of the school as an institution, completely reversing utilitarianism. What is of least value in concrete terms becomes of most value for immediate practical purposes. "It's no use to me" becomes, on examination day, "That may come in useful". The middle term is actually lived through as if it were an obstacle race. The arbitrary nature, the artificiality, the injustice of the examination system have been denounced hundreds of times. Integrated basic education reintroduces continuity into primary education, so that "passages" are no longer obstacle races or throttling devices.

This change does not, however, involve the total suppression of the middle term, for what the expression signifies is simply that all education, for however long it lasts, is carried out between two levels, upper and lower; it is, in fact, a matter of three interlocking elements - the upper level, the present level and the lower level - which determines the educative value of both short and long term. For the long term, it certainly imposes a compulsory itinerary which rescues these qualitative and far-off expiry dates from the promotive utopia. The effects of "culture" in the traditional school - "what is left when one has forgotten everything" to use Edouard Herriot's famous phrase - are thus relegated to a tomorrow which is entirely foreign to what is happening in the school process. The idea of what is "profitable" is there reversed : one has to have forgotten everything which represented stages in educational advance and which sanctioned the existence of those stages, in order that "one fine day", that is to say at an unknown distance in time, the advantages appear. The integrate basic education is also concerned with these cultural effects without, however, postponing them indefinitely : to carry out a thorough revision of assessment procedures is thus to restore the role of the middle term in obtaining cultural results and to counteract the break between school learning and the absorption of culture to which Herriot's witticism refers.

But the short term requires no less to be associated with the middle term for the latter justifies the former. Today, admittedly, this justification operates in a way that often causes anxiety and paralyses initiative : even in classes which have no examinations, pupils are potential candidates. And the teachers who are in charge of them, for the short term, know that they are themselves to some extent permanent candidates for examinations via the pupils themselves. They will be judged on the latter's results. The pressure from parents or the rivalvry between schools can thus transform a course of study into a preparatory school given over to intensive training and whose criteria are dictated from below.

An integrated school cannot fall into this kind of error. This does not mean that it suppresses all advancement and all "passages". Thus, one can envisage a pre-elementary education entirely concerned with the happiness of the children and with its present usefulness as a children's crèche. If this stage of education is not to take the form of premature and unofficial schooling, it is all the more necessary to think far more deeply than we do at present about the articulation between pre-elementary and elementary school and the possibility of the higher level contaminating the lower, or vice versa.

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b. The stage of symbolic representation

But what gives the basic education its especial status in permanent education, and which leads to a strict isomorphism, is the fact that it is the real centre for learning ways of looking at learning.

It has been stressed often enough over the past ten years that one of the worst obstacles to continuing education has been the conception which adults, especially young adults, have of education, basing it upon their own experience of school. However, this conception is highly ambivalent. At the same time, as giving rise to a feeling of revulsion which is transposed into irony and illustrated by a whole gamut of funny stories of which every country has an abundant supply, it fosters a feeling of attraction towards it, a nostalgic fascination easily discernible in the background of those self-same stories behind the comic characters or laughable situations where the archetypes of schooldays are to be found under the heading, "they were happy days, really".

It follows that the future "demand" of adult learners will never be a rational expression of objective needs, but will always be at the same time a hallucinatory expression of desires evoked by their childhood experiences. It is therefore of vital importance that these experiences. It is therefore of vital importance that these experiences should be integrative and not regressive, whether they think of their schooling as a digression in their lives, which they would like to reopen as if it had been a period of agreeable childlike irresponsibility, or whether they fear it as a humiliating step backwards into the past. In both cases, the imagery is more powerful than the dictates of reason: dependence and counter-dependence form an alliance of opposites to prevent their adherence to adult education being prompted solely by their critical faculties.

The brutal dislocation observed at present and more and more deplored, between pre-elementary and elementary schools and later between the elementary and the secondary school in most countries with old-fashioned school traditions, cannot but accentuate the ambivalent attitude described above: the "good old days" spent in playing games and enjoying oneself become relics of a remot archaic past that coincide to some extent with myths about a lost paradise. The image of the classroom, austere, regulated and arranged for listening in silence with arms folded to the teacher, becomes synonymous with the seriousness of work, while the evident anarchy and happy-go-lucky atmosphere of the kindergarten merely inspire a feeling of tolerance for the purely transitory behaviour of childhood.

The concept of the basic education as an educational unit for developing the child is, to a large extent, due to the necessity of altering fundamentally the symbolic conception of education. But evidently this requirement cannot be regarded as a measure of mental hygiene. It is the social conception of education as reflected in the general attitude towards it which must be attacked. This mentality is acquired by individuals from a diffuse, unconscious, daily experience, from what Basil Bernstein recently (1975) called invisible

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education. Habits - and here, in particular, ways of feeling things "spontaneously" - are not acquired through the inculcation of ideas, but through cultural impregnation which is at first almost literally a physical impregnation. It is the architecture which, by imposing ... movement by file, physical postures, proportions, organisation and lay-out of classrooms, informs those who frequent the school buildings of the real plans in store for their future. And these plans for the most part contradict what the children are officially told by the teaching staff. The walls speak a language which will be mirrored in the very organisation of mental space, in the understanding of objects and in the way they are taken up by the imagination.

An initial experience which is too directly opposed to the ideas behind integrated permanent education accentuates the ambivalent attitude with which the latter is regarded. The integrative function of such an experience is weak, whereas factors making for disintegration are numerous: for there is no doubt that the great mass of adults, especially those whose school careers have been a failure, have acquired from their initial education a picture of it which can be summed up by the word *incoherence*.

In other words, stressing the *social* aspect of the conception which adults have of school (and therefore the *political* aspect of what defines and is implicated in it) does not amount to denying its *psychological* component (and thus the effect of an *educational* action in its place). For this conception accompanies a child's mental and emotional development. The very first experience still associated with the mother and father figures of the first family education will be hidden by childish amnesia. But to say this is to stress its importance. All through childhood at school proper, it is the *personal identity* which will be formed in close conjunction with the image of self the school gives to the children it is educating. School assessment plays a vital part in forming one's opinion of oneself, which does not lack connection with the manner of perceiving social hierarchies: "I am that ..." become "I am *only* that ...". The system of permanent comparison and of competition prevailing at school heightens these perceptions which a psychologist would consider false, but which coincide nonetheless with a latent predisposition to inculcate social humility among the underprivileged, as Bourdieu and Passeron have shown. This aspect of things will show up when the age of *projects* comes: the "imaginary" function of the two archetypes "good pupil" and "bad pupil" will be as decisive there as the objective analysis of skills and their rational guidance.

2. Ways of integrating initial education

Let us by way of conclusion turn back to the different prospects touched upon at Item 0 of the *Revised Analysis Guide* in order to examine systematically, but concisely, pointers for the future observed while inspecting the ongoing experiments mentioned and to which we referred in the first part of this report.

Point 01 - The resumption of education by adults is a function of the staggering of education of young people.

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But this staggering is itself linked with a different configuration of the data within the continuity - discontinuity relationship in basic education. Local initiatives are clearly insufficient to determine the future general trends catch on at national level. But even so, these initiatives do reveal some redistribution of data. Indeed, we find five criteria for integration which are laid down with varying degrees of effect :

(1) the suppression of discriminatory channels which favour selection on the basis of socio-economic background;

(2) the delaying of final guidance as much as possible by organising both the identification of problems and compensatory education at an early stage;

(3) the suppression of repetition of classes, a kind of staggering which is a caricature of education, and also uncontrolled selection based on failure;

(4) the removal of the reference status from the school "class" or grade;

(5) the provision of penalties in line with educational methods and not the reverse.

Point 02 - The integrated basic education already incorporates characteristics of permanent education and therefore reorganises itself according to the vertical integration element (the temporal "cursus" of education) and the horizontal integration element (the multilocation of education).

This reorganisation consists mainly in reversing the continuity - discontinuity relationship as observed in past contexts.

(1) In the case of vertical integration, a uniform and rigid discontinuity should be replaced by one that is modulated and flexible. Existing school systems are all characterised by violent dislocations and a lack of harmony between the different types of schools. Passage from one to the other implies rupture in the case of pupils and non-collaboration in the case of teachers. Differences in status and training amongst teaching staff emphasise and formalise these cleavages. Structures, organisation, environment, methods change from one stream to another to such an extent that pupils are apt to feel that they are being positively uprooted.

This discontinuity is not only brutal, but also strict. The thresholds correspond to ages which are often fixed unconditionally : hence the highly debatable notion of "backwardness" in school studies. Everyone knows to how much anxiety this can give rise under the competitive conditions of school life, and how this anxiety is heightened by the uncertainty of finding a job when the time comes for the pupils to leave school.

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The combination "staggering-resumption" which is characteristic of integrated education cannot be inserted into the ordinary school framework. School rhythm is of the "fixed pattern" type, whereas in permanent education it would be "free pattern" (which it should be explained here does not mean one can do whatever one likes).

Integrated basic education, therefore, resembles a continuum in which the thresholds of rupture are replaced by bridges or hinges. But only consideration of the compulsory school's "cursus" as a whole can lead to this transformation. For it is this perception of continuity which makes it possible to substitute for a rigid discontinuity in which each stage amounts to a collective test that is either explicitly or implicitly selective (a discontinuity "à la carte"). Such a "free" discontinuity in which both help and counselling are given on an individual basis makes it possible to reintroduce into the school curriculum a "staggering-resumption" rhythm which respects differences in degrees of maturity, comes to the help of handicaps and pays attention to the diversification of learning paths.

(2) Horizontal integration is essentially connected with the problem of regrouping. The requirements of the age in which we live force us to pass from a period of proliferation of schools to a period of concentration. Regrouping is the order of the day. This can be seen from the experiments visited in Ireland, in the German Federal Republic and in France. The regrouping is geographical, economic, institutional. This concentration and, in particular, the geographical proximity between schools which it favours, can also favour the integration of education. But it is an advantage which is by no means automatic. Concentration is often dictated by economic considerations which take priority, and sometimes lead to a whole population of pupils being herded into schools that are like barracks: such schools have only a limited integrative quality.

Moreover, the mere proximity of one school to another does not miraculously cure the "mental" distance which continues to separate them. If there is to be any question of integration, therefore, it will be a matter of carrying out a redistribution of forces, a rearticulation of activities. The integrated documentation centre can facilitate this transfer from proliferation to regrouping, avoiding the traps that concentration involves. For it can ensure the redistribution of structures, means and personnel, since paradoxically the role of this "centre" is to thwart both concentration and centralisation. It favours a new multilocation of learning, in that it was itself set up as a transit and communication centre whose task it is to establish contact between initiatives, to regulate, to serve as an educational resource centre and to encourage innovation.

No doubt this report, inspired by visits to several experiments, oversimplifies difficulties and problems. However, we have not failed to refer to them in the first part. Having made this point, let us stress once more with these experiments in mind how promising the prospects for integrated education are.

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Items 03, 04 and 05 are corollaries of 01 and 02. The experiments visited by the Steering Group all testify to the existence of indications of the alteration of time-space constraints (03), of the organisation of a system of guidance and counselling and continuous assistance (04), and even the expression of the needs of those being educated and of the society which sustains them (05). However, on these three points, as on the first two, the difficulties met with by those engaged in these innovations, the precarious nature of the results obtained and the uncertainty that exists as to their interpretation, require caution over making a prognosis.

But to conclude, one can see how much the redirection of present school education towards an integrated educational policy depends upon a successful connection between the planners and the organisers controlling school reform on the one hand, and the necessary trials and errors of the various experiments on the other. This is the price of integration. And is not this conjoncture, in the last resort, precariously balanced as it is and always requiring renewal, what permanent education means?

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SECONDARY AND
TERTIARY EDUCATION

by

Mr. Bertrand Schwartz

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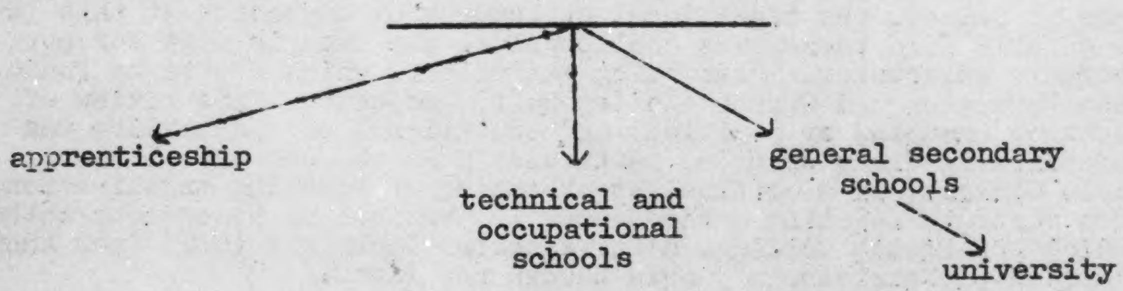
INTRODUCTION

It can be said that, in all European countries, education subsequent to compulsory schooling, ie which concerns the 16 to 19 age group, is broadly similar. After their compulsory schooling, young people may either start work straightaway or continue their studies. The latter may be either a preparation for an occupation in the form of a technical college course, or an apprenticeship, or a preliminary to higher education, usually at a university. In traditional systems, these two streams usually have no connection between them or, if they are connected, courses and the system itself are so organised that only very few students are affected. In fact, there could almost be said to be three streams, since a clear distinction exists between apprenticeships, which form a vocational training sub-system, and technical school courses, as may be seen from the diagram below. As is logical, the two types of training are offered in separate establishments whose aims, methods and staff are different; whose students come from district and recognised socio-occupational categories and whose status is very different.

That is the situation to be found as much in Norway, for example, as in France or in the Federal Republic of Germany.

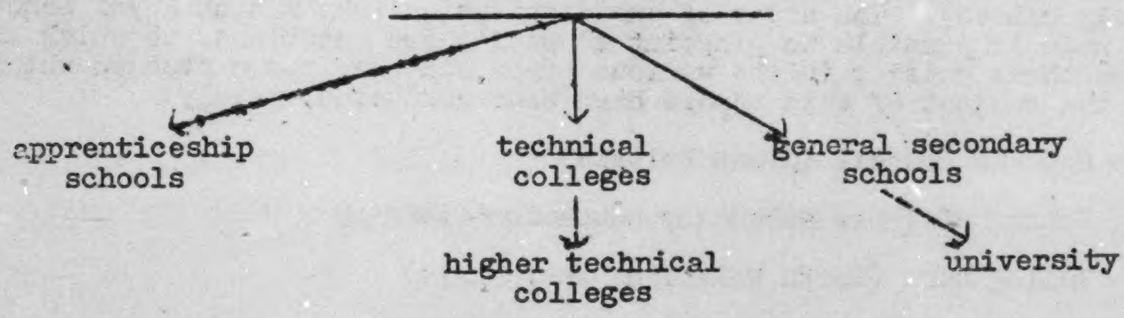
FRANCE

School leaving age: 16



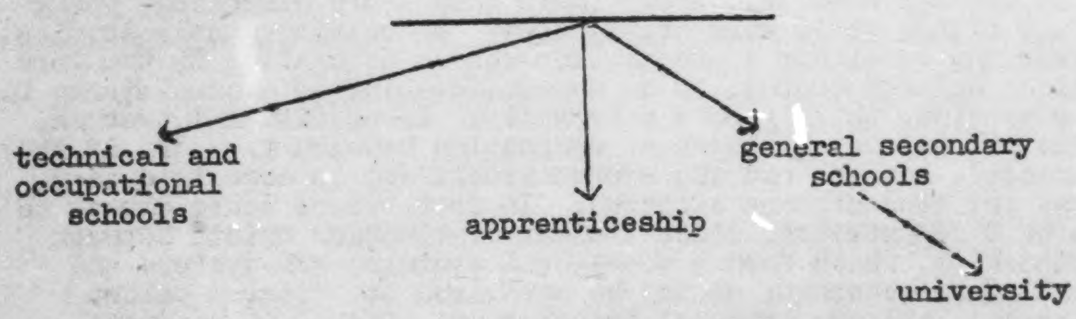
NORWAY

School leaving age: 16



FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

School leaving age : 16



This implies that guidance at the age of 16 is of capital importance since it very widely affects the socio-professional future of young people. Guidance is to be understood here in its broadest sense - far broader than more "vocational guidance" - of following each pupil individually throughout the stages of his learning and of his personal development. There is a very interesting instance of this in the Scottish secondary education.

However, as soon as this problem of better guidance for young people is raised, the traditional structures of education at this level very quickly find themselves challenged as the need is felt for more democratic structures, interesting examples of which are to be found in the Norwegian and German (Kollegstufe) projects. This review of structures prompted by political and educational considerations was accompanied in Great Britain, particularly in the context of the Schools Council, by a critical stock-taking of teaching organisation, course content, teaching methods and, in particular, assessment methods, on which the French Collèges d'Enseignement Technique (CET) (now known as "Lycées professionnels") have thrown new light.

All these innovations, irrespective of their importance, their ambitiousness or their political future, have involved teachers and drawn attention to the question of their training which, consequently, has assumed considerable importance (whether it has been settled or merely raised). The study of one institution (the Danish Royal School) has made it possible to pinpoint some of these questions, to which are added those arising in the various other contexts where studies which are the subject of this report have been conducted, namely:

- Schools Council (Great Britain)
- Reform of upper secondary education (Norway)
- Kollegstufe (North Rhineland Westphalia)
- Collèges d'Enseignement Technique expérimentaux (experimental technical training colleges) (France)

- Danish Royal School of Educational Studies (Denmark)
- Guidance in Scottish secondary schools (Great Britain)

Lastly, a discussion of the functions of the university in such a system of permanent education, based on visits to the Roskilde (Denmark) University Centre, the Norwegian university colleges, and the Open University in the United Kingdom, will conclude this part of the study.

I. HOW CAN GUIDANCE BE IMPROVED?

Although attempts have been made in various European countries to democratise compulsory education, and although theoretically it is not until such education has been completed, at the age of 16, that a virtually final division is made between students who can go on to higher education and those who will shortly have to start to work, nevertheless they will generally have been gradually guided in one direction or another beforehand; in any event, at the age of 16, the axe falls and their future is definitively shaped by the school's decision.

After compulsory schooling there is, therefore, one kind of education that opens the doors of universities and other, more or less diversified kinds which prepare young people, from apprentices to technicians, to enter sooner or later the occupational world. Primary and lower secondary schools (basic education) cater for all children between the ages of 6/7 and 15/16. Although the difficulties of genuine democratisation need not be mentioned again here, it is worth recalling that they were largely due to pressure from the latter end of the educational system, ie from upper secondary schools and universities; education as a whole being organised as though the only aim were to provide universities with students worthy of attending them and becoming executives.

There is nothing new in this: secondary education has traditionally been designed to prepare young people for university entrance, and consequently it has always contributed by its curricula and teaching methods to an initial selection, even though this could be camouflaged by various arguments - pupil motivation or ability, fear of a lowering of standards if more students were admitted, and undoubtedly financial considerations. This has been the case even with French "collèges d'enseignement secondaire" and British comprehensive schools, whose main purpose has been to try to reduce inequalities and democratise education more genuinely. These efforts seem to stop at the threshold of higher education. Socio-cultural and socio-economic factors are restricting recruitment to upper secondary education; pupils who are not admitted to an upper secondary school at the end of compulsory education have no alternative but to take up a technical trade, but for very negative reasons where little account is taken of their inclinations. In 1972, for instance, 29% of the age group were attending the last year of secondary education in France, compared with only 9% in the Federal Republic of Germany, but as many as 45% in Sweden.

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And yet various investigations, notably by the International Evaluation Association (IEA), have shown that the greater the proportion of the age group attending the last year of a course is the higher the average mark in tests proves to be.

One of the fundamental postulates of permanent education is that all pupils should attend a comprehensive school (1). Although such schools are being introduced for the whole period of compulsory education more or less throughout Europe, they do not apply to pupils after the age of 16, and this has many implications for the earlier stages of schooling. Such a situation seems to reflect the following assumptions:

- that it has been possible to identify a pupil's tastes and aptitudes at every stage of his schooling,
- that he will not change any more, and that his tastes and aptitudes are fixed;
- that he is well enough informed to make an intelligent choice.

Experience shows more and more that none of this is so.

At 16, education is no longer "compulsory". Society allows (compels) some - indeed many - to cut short their further personal development, without always giving them an opportunity of reconsidering their decision at a later stage. This is contrary to the aims of a permanent education system. What proposals can be made to improve this situation?

I.1 Setting up "facilitating" structures

It was thought that a first step would be to house the two types of technical and general establishments in the same premises but, as has been shown in France with the integrated CETs and lycées, that is obviously not the essential factor.

It is at another level that such a rapprochement might well be effective. Indeed, the fact of being a reasonable distance apart is not a totally bad thing; educational planning can allow for it and even put it to good use. Examples of this are the German Kollegstufe project where the students may have to attend several establishments, depending on the subjects taught or the activities provided, and the Norwegian project where establishments work in co-operation. These are examples of a kind of district system, where better use is made of the facilities available locally.

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(1) as has already been shown in an earlier document.

The important point probably is that, in the context of permanent education, the option taken up at the age of 16 should not be made final by a rigid structure. However, in France, for example, a pupil steered towards a CET has hardly any chance of transferring to a lycée in the midst of his course, and it is the same in the traditional systems of the Federal Republic of Germany and of Norway, where the streams are strictly separate. What is more, once at a CET, a pupil who has decided to work for a lower certificate (CAP) cannot, either during or after his course, change his mind and work for a more advanced certificate (BEP).

And yet an interpermeation of streams within the system is essential to real equality of opportunity and this means, as already said in the 1974 interim report (1), that the pupil's right to make a mistake must be recognised. From this standpoint, the proposed Norwegian reform, which aims at integrating adult education with traditional secondary education, would seem a promising example. Even more so, perhaps, is the Kollegstufe scheme, whose course units mix pupils of the same level, irrespective of whether they are in the occupational training or general education stream.

It can be said that such a structure is particularly helpful, but it is, nevertheless, insufficient. Other problems exist which can prevent the success of such democratisation, financial ones in particular, since a young apprentice usually needs the money he earns and does not necessarily have a family who could help him towards a general type of secondary education.

Similarly, for such possibilities of transfer to be more than just "theoretical" both teaching methods and course content must be very flexible. If the syllabuses, pupil grouping patterns and options are very rigid, re-adaptation is practically impossible.

I.1.1 By providing negotiable curricula equal in status

The Kollegstufe scheme again provides us with a valuable example. Compulsory lessons take up only 25% of course time. All the rest is the subject of negotiation between the pupil and the teacher, with complete freedom during the first year, but progressively less as the course goes on. The school timetable is flexible enough to allow of the inclusion of periods for catching up or for more thorough study which help the pupil temporarily without confining him to one stream. Thus, with the support with which it is intended to provide the pupil whenever he needs it so that he will not get too far out of his depth, there is nothing to prevent him from changing direction in mid-stream.

This presupposes, however, that the teacher should be trained to detect the pupil's learning problems and deal with them appropriately. If that is done, it may be hoped that young people will be able to continue their education without their previous results in certain subjects determining their choice of studies and the direction in which they are guided.

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(1) CCC/EP (74) 6 revised.

Another condition to be fulfilled is that there should be no superiority or inferiority of curricula. That would seem to have been clearly understood in the guidance system adopted in Lower Saxony, thereby illustrating that what counts is the development of the child's personality, and not the acquisition of this or that knowledge.

Some subjects are, however, a problem: mathematics, for example, of which it is frequently said that they must be learned in linear progression. That means, in fact, that a pupil who has learnt no mathematics at all cannot decide at the end of secondary education to study science at the university. Even at Roskilde, an establishment not to be suspected or organising selection, bringing students up to the right level in the exact sciences raises a problem which cannot be ignored and, in the case of adults, how can experience be taken into account in this field?

Another problem area is technological training, where the difficulty is mainly a question of time. Technolgical options are always very difficult. A student who has not taken them, can scarcely change over to them in the third year of the secondary course for example - or if he did, he would have to prolong his course considerably.

In the Kollegstufe scheme, as has been said, options gradually become "final" and no changes can be made after the second year. That fact clearly illustrates the time and content requirements with which courses of this type are forced to comply. The final choice does, however, have the great advantage of coming later than usual. Moreover, it has been decided on after a few months' trial during which the student has been able to test his inclinations and, above all, it has been decided on by negotiation between teachers and students.

I.1.2 By individualising teaching

In order to give the young student the support he needs and the possibility of negotiating his choice of course, it is important to get to know him (which implies a good tutorial system) and to give him the opportunity of working at his own speed; the "time" factor is therefore particularly important. It is useless to speak of individualisation if a course is obligatorily of a certain duration, as at the French CETs, for example. The system must therefore allow a certain latitude (plus one or two years for example). That is what is being tried out in Norway, where it is realised that changing from some options to others requires considerable time for catching up; for example, students who, after two years of a basic course, wish to change to a technical course have to take another year.

The sub-division of courses into years is, perhaps, not the most flexible solution. A "modular" scheme like the German "Baukasten-System" perfected in the Kollegstufe scheme, is particularly interesting since it allows all possible combinations of extra training or change of option within the initial course and, subsequently, in in-service training. Such a structure would therefore appear particularly suitable for permanent education, but it is not without some problems common to all unit systems.

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In the first place, it means an immense amount of research into course content to define levels and objectives. Furthermore, it is not at all certain that everything in education can be broken down into units and objectives (for example, artistic training) or that all types of education can share a common core. A system of this kind attracted the promoters of the French CET reform at first, but they hesitated in the face of what seemed to them a risk of offering young people a piecemeal education. Division into units has obvious advantages when it is a case of traditional subject content or of an adult public, to whom it guarantees the necessary flexibility, as the Open University has shown. However, where young people are concerned and in the context of permanent education, the main concern must be the development of their personality as a whole and not merely their intellectual development or, more narrowly still, their acquisition of knowledge and know-how.

The problem is, therefore, that the choice of a structure that facilitates certain things should not be allowed to stand in the way of another equally important aim. This risk must be kept in mind to avoid dangerous mistakes.

I.2 How can evaluation be improved?

In a system of permanent education, sound guidance can result only from a thorough evaluation: evaluation of the pupil's results and aptitudes, evaluation of his chances as compared with others and in relation to the economic situation. As a general rule, pupil guidance at the end of compulsory education is based on the results obtained in the various subjects, bearing in mind university requirements.

This is not compatible with a system of permanent education which, as we have seen, must provide for support and catching up and whose structures must be such that a young person can become an engineer, for instance, even if he was interested in literary subjects only up to the age of 16.

I.2.1 By integrating it with teaching - new roles for teachers: guidance

There is a whole facet of a pupil's personality which is still neglected and which it is nevertheless important to take into account: his creativeness, his autonomy. How are they to be encouraged and, in particular, how evaluated?

In pointing out earlier the risks and limitations of a unit system, it was precisely this aspect of the pupil's personality we had in mind.

In the Federal Republic of Germany, Norway and particularly in Scotland, the whole education system leading up to secondary school has been reorganised in order to take these points into account as fully as possible and to prepare young people's future "better".

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In the Scottish system, guidance is intended to educate the pupil to assume responsibility for and to decide his own future. It far exceeds information, essential though it is, about the various requirements for admission to this or that type of course or about possible employment outlets. Guidance is an integral part of education and its effect is to lay greater emphasis, in teaching and in school life itself, on support for pupils in the personal and cognitive spheres and on the reorganisation of school life as a whole in such a way that all school activities as well as the pupil's life in general teach him to be self-reliant and responsible, an aim in view, to keep a careful watch on all the aspects of the individual pupil's life - with all the dagners and dilemmas that this implies. For is there not a risk, in this field more than in any other, of imposing models, an ethical blueprint? Whereas, here again, is it solely a matter of lighting the way? Even more than in the cognitive field, such support requires particularly watchful and delicate co-operation between the pupil and all his teachers.

This situation has the effect of disturbing the balance in the part played by the teacher. True, especially in Great Britain, the teacher's role has never been strictly limited to the transfer of knowledge and an all-round education has always been a concern of the British but, once "institutionalised", does this task not exceed what is traditionally and explicitly that of the teacher? Is there not also a danger of leaving the field clear for psychoanalysts and, even more dangerous, amateur sociologists? Many, too, confronted with such vast problems might well ask whether it is for the school to deal with them or whether on the school staff, there should not be specialists of various kinds, although again that might detract from the coherence of the pupil's education by introducing "divisions" just as harmful as those created by the different school subjects.

All these questions perhaps go to show the need to review the fucntions and training of teachers.

I.2.2 By using "formative" evaluation?

Evaluation is central to guidance because it enables:

- the pupil constantly to situate himself
  - . in relation to himself,
  - . in relation to others,

  so that his efforts are directed in good time to the points requiring attention;
- the teacher to situate the pupil in his progress in all the educational fields.

But to take the whole of the pupil's personality into account is an ambitious undertaking and undoubtedly one of the stumbling blocks of the system.

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It rules out from the start "normative" evaluation by means of examinations or tests. Although these may be used during the course as indicators, for very precise and limited purposes, they cannot form the sole basis for evaluation because the picture they give is too piecemeal.

What is known as "summative" evaluation is a type of continuous assessment practised at frequent intervals. It has the advantage of taking account of the pupil's work as a whole, which represents progress compared with the usual modes of evaluation, but it has the disadvantage of being only a means of certification. To assess a pupil according to the marks he has been given during the year is tantamount to penalising him for having failed, or for not having understood some point, at a given moment in his education; it does not allow any "valuation" to be placed on the efforts he may have made to improve his results. This concept of placing proper value is particularly important first of all because what counts in fact is what the student has acquired and then because, with an eye to permanent education, it is necessary above all that school should leave pupils with a positive impression.

Evaluation methods are varied. In the Kollegstufe scheme, for example, the pupil's "profile" depends on a mark calculated both on the basis of the work as a whole but also of a final examination, whose mark counts for 1/10 of the total.

The experimental CETs in France are based on the acquisition of knowledge and know-how, but it is wished to assess these in terms of a number of parameters which are not usually taken into account, such as the degree of self-reliance displayed by the pupil in succeeding in this or that operation, or his creativeness. In such a system, there can be no question of "marking". The key problem is to manage to define the operational objectives precisely so that the pupils clearly understand them and can participate in their own evaluation. This kind of evaluation is particularly formative and in line with the principles of permanent education. But it means that teachers have to make a considerable effort to rethink and review their teaching as to both form and content. However, they are required both to mark their pupils' work (hence, to judge them) and to educate them (hence, to help them to express their difficulties), and their previous training will have scarcely prepared them for this dual task.

In the current experimental schemes, the trials and errors, the tentative combinations of various solutions, show clearly the importance of evaluation in the minds of the innovators. They reflect the difficulties encountered in finding a solution which takes due account of all the objectives of global evaluation and allows guidance to be a gradual process, to result from constant negotiation between pupil and teacher and no longer fall like an unexpected or, on the contrary, anxiously awaited axe against which there is no defence; in short, to make guidance both a means and an end in training the pupil in self-reliance.

I.2.3. But there arises the problem of innovation strategy : the contradiction between internal and external evaluation

From the practical aspect, one thinks of those "charts" kept up-to-date in some Scottish schools or by teachers in the French experimental CETs, on which the pupils are "situated" and which they

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have every opportunity of changing and of course may consult at any time. But this "formative" system of evaluation, however attractive, also carries risks of mistakes which should be identified in order the better to be avoided. The purpose of evaluation is not solely to situate pupils in relation to themselves, it must also be recognised as valid by other schools of the same level, by establishments "downstream", by employers and by society. It must be surrounded by all the essential guarantees, both for the individual and for society. This means that internal evaluation would not be enough and that it must be confirmed by an external assessment for which various arrangements can be envisaged and of which interesting examples are to be found in the Norwegian university colleges, the Roskilde University Centre and the French CETs.

It is probably at this level that the problem of the relationship between the education system and society is most clearly posed. Innovation cannot ignore it, but as a result carries the seeds of its own destruction. There is an ambiguity here which threatens most those reforms which are the most revolutionary or concern one segment of the educational system only, as the Roskilde experiment would seem to show. In order to survive, such reforms depend very largely on the "traditional" milieu and on its degree of tolerance, which is a factor in its own acceptance of change.

Thus, a thousand opportunities arise to "kill" reforms which in all the cases we have been able to observe were nevertheless desired by the central authorities.

Consequently, the new establishments are instrumental in really equalising opportunities only if they offer students courses of a standard and, above all, of a status comparable with those of the courses they might have taken in traditional establishments. This is always the problem of innovations which affect only a part of the system: it tends to reject them and, because they are different, tends to make them appear inferior. Here we have a clear case of the conservative inertia society, since in all the instances studied, the initiative for reform came from the policy-making authority.

There has been much hesitation over whether to grant equivalences to degrees obtained through the Open University. The attacks made on the Roskilde University Centre do not augur well either for liaison with other universities, or for the recognition of its diplomas as equivalent to the traditional ones. As for the Norwegian colleges, they are intended and claimed to be of equivalent status to the universities; yet, the authorities do not wish their students to be able to go on in the normal way to further studies in the traditional universities and a quota of 20% has already been fixed. The "recognition" of these innovations will perhaps come through university participation in their progress, although this does not mean that the risks of defeating or distorting their purpose are thereby eliminated. As has been seen at Roskilde and in the Norwegian colleges, the fact that university staff participate in the selection of the teachers (2 university staff on the Selection Committee of 3!) no doubt ensures the standing of the teachers but the criteria for their selection being essentially those applied by the universities, the experiment is likely to be somewhat distorted as a result.

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At Roskilde, internal assessment throughout the course is supplemented by an external evaluation with which the professional world and the universities are associated. The same applies to the Norwegian colleges. In the French CETs, it is the people in the occupational sector concerned who determine the general objectives of training to match the job description. They are also represented on the permanent panel which assesses both the teaching and the pupils, and they are informed in great detail of the course organisation and aims.

Here, then is another constant problem for innovators, who very strongly resent the ambiguity of such a situation. An innovation needs to be recognised in "traditional" circles, otherwise, being marginal, it will disappear and will prevent those trained in accordance with it from enjoying real equality of opportunity. On the other hand, by claiming such recognition, it runs the risk of seeing society warp its objectives and stifle the very features which made the experiment original and worthwhile. To manoeuvre between these obstacles is not easy and shows plainly that only overall reform has any chance of succeeding.

II. HOW CAN VOCATIONAL TRAINING BE IMPROVED? (1)

The school's role is largely to prepare the future workers society needs. In the present context of liberal industrial society, there are managerial posts to be filled, but also unskilled or semi-skilled jobs to be done and it would seem that the school reproduces the same division of labour as exists in industry. Obviously, the school cannot live outside the society which produced it, but it may well be asked whether that is any reason why the school should help to perpetuate the division of labour according to the usual pattern: a poor education, uninteresting and/or very hard work, mediocre wages.

Furthermore, it must be admitted that social requirements are increasingly ambiguous. There is always a need for "unskilled" workers and there is an increasing need for "technicians" and "specialists", but it is also understood that the mobility inherent in modern economic conditions implies that workers must be able to adapt themselves readily, to convert to other jobs. So many multiple and, in a way, contradictory demand which the school finds hard to meet satisfactorily, even by recourse to the "negative" type of guidance which is too frequently the rule and which perpetuates the cultural model of technical training regarded as inferior to a general education.

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(1) In this section, reference will be made only to the various experiments studied, which were confined to vocational training within the educational system. Consequently, vocational training in the industrial sphere - particularly apprenticeships - is not dealt with here.

This confrontation between two realities, whose seriousness is only now beginning to be measured, implies, if recognised, revolutionary change in our cultural patterns and in the type of education enjoying the greatest prestige in schools.

It is true that posts of responsibility are only for those who have received a very wide general education, of the university type, in which abstract ideas and words are paramount. As a corollary, very specialised types of training lead only to executive posts for people more or less responsible for their own work.

Not by any means all young people are attracted by the university but they see in it their one possibility of securing an occupation of any standing, offering them satisfactory remuneration and, above all, the possibility of finding interest in their work, of becoming involved in it and of developing through it. In the present state of affairs, to protect the university from an invasion which it could neither control nor absorb, only one solution is envisaged, viz the "numerus clausus". However, it may not be the only one possible.

Moreover, technical establishments offering courses leading to specialised diplomas and qualifications (the individual's sole safeguard vis-à-vis society) are not sufficiently numerous to admit all the young people who would like to take such courses. This is true of the French CETs, particularly in special branches; the situation is similar in Norway also where, in Oslo, nearly 40% of an age-group wish to enter such establishments which, for material reasons, can only receive 28%. Technical and industrial training is very costly.

Consequently, those which cannot be admitted either to these establishments or to the university "go to work" unequipped, defenceless in times of crisis, with little inclination to return later to any kind of training course and little possibility of doing so.

Thus, the problem of vocational training is not confined to the traditional and real conflict between general education and specific training. It is a problem of qualifications. The general education provided in upper secondary schools and universities is often said to be a kind of "vocational" training as it leads to certain types of occupation. For one thing, this is less and less true and, secondly, there are no resultant professional qualifications. So-called "over-education", a phenomenon that is spreading, is the cause of discontent and of serious problems for the balance of the labour market.

Students who give up this type of education half-way have "a fortiori" no qualifications to give them a place and to protect them in the working world. They go to joint those which the system had already rejected and increase the mass of workers whose daily occupation is a repetitive, fragmentary, in any case uninspiring job.

So long as industry continues to offer these types of job, the school system will be expected to provide workers to do them. The first important thing would, perhaps, be to foster a change in industry -

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so that it no longer forces part of the population to do jobs they find thoroughly repellent - either by abolishing certain jobs or by improving them and giving the worker an opportunity of contributing to their improvement. It should be noted that young people are tending to refuse such jobs, and that industry is having to rely on immigrant labour.

In a system of permanent education, one cannot therefore allow a dichotomy to persist between vocational training and general education in the sense of one being the antithesis of the other and precluding the other.

There can be no question of being tied to the economic situation, neither can there be any question of ignoring it. Consequently, the realistic solution would be to give young people - all of them - the opportunity of vocational training which would enable them to leave school when they wished and to start work with a qualification in their pocket, but also to give them the opportunity of going on to higher education.

That implies :

1. a new concept of general education;

2. a new pattern of vocational training.

II.1 A new concept of general education

Traditionally speaking, general culture is closely connected to the acquisition of a certain body of knowledge, to the study of certain subjects. Vocational training, in the French CETs, for example, places much more emphasis on acquiring know-how to the detriment of the kind of knowledge which alone confers the perspective and autonomy necessary for a real education and, in exchange, gives much less weight to certain other types of training - in particular, in expression, art etc.

The teaching by objectives being experimented within the CETs allows a much more all-round approach which fosters a two-way flow between theory and practice. However, this training remains closely geared to occupational needs and the prestige of some subjects - if only because so few hours are allotted to them in the timetable - is very low. Consequently, a certain hierarchy persists in course content and "vocational" and "general" education are still distinct.

Whereas in the CETs, even the experimental ones, certain requirements have to be complied with which somewhat distort the objectives, the Kollegstufe scheme is seeking to apply a more radical concept of education by challenging the idea attaching to traditional, general education that there are course contents whose acquisition typifies a cultured person. "General learning objectives exist", it is claimed, "in the shape of attitudes, knowledge, inclinations and aptitudes that are pedagogically desirable above all else because they

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transcend the utilitarian aspects of education. These general objectives are a kind of corrective for the specific technical objectives, which are largely determined by demand and the requirements of society". Thus, "training in experimental method can be given equally well in a physics course or in a biology course" and "mastery of the means of expression can be acquired independently of what is expressed".

A general education may, therefore, be acquired through a course of any kind, and the pupil therefore has a real choice as to his field, 20% of the time nevertheless being compulsorily reserved to certain spheres of activity intended to compensate for the high degree of specialisation entailed by the free choice of the main subject.

Perhaps particularly revolutionary in the education of the young, this rejection of a hierarchy of content, of a predetermined curriculum is also to be found in the organisation of courses at the Roskilde University Centre, where it is recognised that the student may quite happily be ignorant of certain things which are usually required at university level.

A general education may be acquired through any kind of course, and is mainly dependent on the way the course content is presented. If it be recognised that the function of general education is to enable the student to look at his environment with a critical eye, there will perforce be teaching methods and patterns of training that will impose themselves as necessary features of that education.

In such a context, therefore, independent work, self-documentation and the project method have a privileged place, because they encourage the development of independence in relation to knowledge and to the teacher. Work on a concrete project calls for thoroughness, for an alternation between abstract thinking and practical work that fosters the linking up of the various kinds of knowledge and, consequently, the acquisition of a method of work. This independence in relation to knowledge is an essential point which general education must take into account.

A system which allows for self-assessment, which leaves the student a large measure of responsibility for his own education and guidance is in itself formative. At Roskilde, the students have individually and collectively to analyse their needs in order better to define their "project" and its progress. Thus, they take at least partial responsibility for their education.

To be more complete, this kind of training ought not to be confined to course management. To participate is in itself an education; it is therefore inconceivable that the teaching side of education should be distinct from the machinery that makes it possible. Neither the French experimental CETs, nor the university colleges give the students a voice in the school's decision-making bodies in matters of school organisation, thus creating an unequal balance between adults and young people and leaving a sharp division between what the school traditionally exists for, ie learning, and other activities, entertaining thereby a certain conception of what is formative and what is not.

It is true that in Scotland the young people take some part in decision-making and even directly manage some activities; the same may be said of the Kollegstufe scheme and, even more so, of the Norwegian university colleges.

But the Roskilde University Centre alone has truly institutionalised the management of the establishment by the students. This must be seen as the logical culmination of a whole concept of education centred on training in self-reliance, but the students' degree of maturity must also be taken into consideration. At university level, such a solution can no doubt be envisaged, but whether it would be realistic and educational at the level of younger pupils remains to be seen.

On the one hand, personal independence is encouraged by enabling the pupils to assume real responsibility for their education in the choice of their course and its content and in their own assessment. On the other hand, the group work implied in the project method and participation in the management of activities or of the establishment encourage socialisation. This kind of education thus combines these two complementary features but, depending on the options selected, there is a risk of an uneven balance between the two. Is there not, in fact, a danger that personal project work may be hemmed in and so restricted by the contraints imposed by the group? In extreme cases, could it not be feared that the weight and authority of the group might sometimes run counter to the development of individual autonomy ? Therein lies a serious risk of going astray which must not be underestimated, and which means must be found to prevent.

II.2 A new pattern of vocational training

If the school is to have a grip on reality - which, once again, does not mean that it must be cut to fit it - education must be directed towards two things:

2.1 At every terminal stage of schooling, the pupil must be able to obtain an occupational qualification which will give him a clear and firm standing in working life.

2.2 As a corollary anybody, whatever his previous schooling, must be able to take up his education again and go on to "higher" studies.

II.2.1 Occupational qualifications for all, which presupposes:

II.2.1.1 A highly flexible system of training

We have explained why this objective is an essential factor in any real equalisation of opportunities.

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But it implies a certain organisational pattern of training of which the Kollegstufe scheme is a particularly interesting illustration. This is, in fact, made possible by a maximum integration of the various types of training within the "Baukastensystem" (units), in which students of all categories are brought together, since "this or that course is an essential part of the curriculum of somebody studying for the Abitur examination (university entrance level), but is also part of the curriculum of an apprentice or a future assistant who, in addition to his certificate, is also aiming at the Abitur; or of a future student at a higher technical college ...". The great advantage of such a flexible system is that, thanks to the selection of the necessary units, it makes it possible to leave school early with a qualification or to change streams while still at school (eg to transfer from apprenticeship to the Abitur course, in theory at least, for it is not certain that material conditions allow this in present circumstances) or, subsequently, to take up his education again, at worst at the point where he left off.

II.2.1.2 A highly developed system of information

This also implies that students are given adequate information about occupations. This is one of the functions of pupil guidance staff in Scottish secondary schools and it requires close liaison with the business world.

First, to be able to form a judgement regarding outlets - a relative one only, since the world of work refuses to forecast its own requirements and the school can hardly be expected to make up for that deficiency.

But also so that students may know of the existence of certain occupations, their interesting features and the requirements for engaging in them. In Scotland, a plethora of information is provided through the various media (films, television, booklets), though it does not reach - or perhaps try to reach - the degree of sophistication of some of the United States material. At Roskilde, the evaluation unit has agreed to provide the teaching team with information material on socio-occupational requirements.

But such information may have little impact by comparison with the preconceived ideas emanating from the family circle or from teachers themselves. That is why a tendency is developing to make the student discover the working environment for himself, either by spending short periods at work, or by making on-the-spot enquiries (as in Sweden, for example).

II.2.1.3 Should one go further? Alternation projects

This opening of a door onto the outside world may acquire greater importance and become the very pivot of training.

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If it is hoped to keep the maximum of young people at school while enabling them to secure an occupational qualification, it must be agreed that, for financial and practical reasons, the school alone can hardly give all the training. A system of alternation between school and work would offer an interesting economic solution.

It is not intended to repeat here the all to well known "apprenticeship" model, but to create by this alternation the constant two-way current between theory and practice which is the pivot of a really interdisciplinary project method of teaching. This means that it will be difficult to establish comparability between what individuals have acquired. At certain levels, therefore, prerequisites, which will vary with each individual, will also be a problem, though one which might be simplified if the system provided for modules and periods for "catching up".

In fact, it is on the teacher's action that the value and thoroughness of a system based on alternation and projects will depend.

II.2.1.4 But a disturbing problem remains: socio-economic inequalities

A few words on a problem which we have hardly mentioned because it is discussed so often. It is all too true that apprentices come mainly from the same socio-economic background, and that the children of salaried and professional people constitute most of the upper secondary school and university population.

For the school to help to guide these young people into other channels would not be enough unless numerous scholarships were awarded. In the experience of the Kollegstufe scheme, favourable though the "Baukastensystem" may be, apprentices, especially in times of economic crisis, are afraid to leave their jobs and lose their pay, however meagre, to go on with their studies.

This, therefore, is a particularly serious obstacle which is likely considerably to lessen the impact of efforts made within the educational system.

II.2.2 A constant possibility of retraining

As a corollary to allowing young people to leave the school system, adults must be enabled to take up their education again when they wish. This is where the positive evaluation of knowledge acquired by a pupil is of the greatest interest. What is needed, then, is a system of recurrent education that is dovetailed into the school system, with due regard for all its own objectives.

The admission arrangements and the organisation of courses are thus of capital importance.

To be strictly fair, it should be arranged for those who left school earliest to be allowed longer educational leave and larger grants than the others. That would be a means of breaking the usual

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circle where those who are the best-educated are also those who most frequently apply for further training and take the most advantage of the opportunities available. No legislation seems yet to have taken this point into account.

If he is to take up his education again, the learner must be assessed on the basis of what he really is. In other words, further training must be organised in such a way as to take account of the individual's experience from the time he left school to the time he embarks on a new course. It has been seen that, in some fields such as the exact sciences, this raises a problem, that is as yet far from being solved.

Finally, initial education should enable an ~~adult~~ to retrain for an occupation other than that for which he was originally trained. This need is coming increasingly to the fore.

The broad general education offered in the Norwegian university colleges and at Roskilde and the preparatory year in the Kollegstufe scheme are different but parallel examples of the same endeavour to prepare for possible retraining or for a transfer to a higher level.

To facilitate retraining, it is important to group together certain occupations of the same family and to rethink the training for them in terms of a common core and common units, directed towards objectives, which would mean that it would no longer be a question of deciding on a common body of knowledge, but of defining common training objectives attainable in various ways, through courses whose content would be different. This is an immense task, but some countries have already undertaken it. For example, in the Land of Rhineland-Westphalia 17 such objectives have been defined for the purposes of the Kollegstufe scheme.

It is clear that secondary education seen in the context of permanent education cannot logically exist without its environment - occupational environment, social environment. It can exist only if the whole environment is geared to taking over from it and adding to it. We have already seen how closely it is bound up with the institution of a system of recurrent education. It is now urgent, perhaps, to look quickly at what all this might mean at university level or, more broadly speaking, at the level of "tertiary" education. That will be the subject of our conclusion.

III. WHAT KIND OF TEACHERS ARE NEEDED FOR THESE REFORMS?

III.1 What is a teacher?

From all the various innovations we have studied, it is plain that the role and function of the teacher are fast changing. Hitherto, it has been taken for granted that the teacher contributes to the pupil's intellectual education by transmitting knowledge to him, but his task has acquired many new facets, and it is no longer really clear what is meant by a "teacher".

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In all the various experiments studied, it could be seen that the function of the teacher had everywhere changed and ideas about it had been revised. Over and above merely passing on knowledge, he must be capable of making knowledge and information available to pupils, either directly or not, of facilitating their learning and guidance of providing a training in methodology likely to incline pupils towards further education at a later stage, of arranging for the assessment by pupils of their own education and of making sure that it develops their personality.

One may therefore question the need, or the possibility, of imposing so many functions on the teacher simultaneously. Should not the tendency be rather to diversify school staff within the education process? This is to some extent what is being done in Scotland, where the deliberate placing of emphasis on pupil guidance has led to provision being made for new types of posts, which are nevertheless filled by teachers who continue - and this is very important - to teach at least two-thirds of their time. Although they are more specialised in guidance than their colleagues, they are still teachers; it may be regretted, however, that the institution does not clearly specify that the other teachers must also participate and make themselves familiar with such questions. The main idea is that these functions ought to be shared by all teachers and that it is not realistic to expect all teachers to be specialists in everything.

However, it would appear that teachers would prefer to see their profession more clearly defined and their job technically better described. The French experience of training "guidance officers" quite separately from teachers and finding that they have become "technicians", has shown the disadvantages of a solution which probably makes staff feel safer. One might, therefore, hesitate about training a "team" of specialists and fear a fragmentation of pupils' education, which would be comparable to and perhaps even more pernicious than that already deplored in connection with school subjects. On the other hand, to place a greater burden on "teachers" would not be very realistic or effective.

To ensure that pupils' education forms a homogeneous whole, then, the following measures may be proposed:

1. enabling the teacher, through in-service training, to prepare himself for this or that particular function in the educational team, and to change his function when he wishes;

2. enabling these "specialists" to continue to do a certain amount of teaching and, therefore, arrange their duties accordingly;

3. maintaining equality of remuneration for these various types of "educational staff";

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4. ensuring that, instead of the presence of "specialists" relieving the non-specialists of responsibility, their presence creates a new team spirit, a reallocation of functions, a new "school life".

III.2 But that presupposes a new kind of training

Although these measures would enable teachers to be fairly competent in many fields, and to have a common language and a common concern, they are not sufficient: such reforms probably require a revision of teachers' functions and duties and thus become an economic and political problem, implying new kinds of training, based on at least three principles.

III.2.1 First principle: uniform training

The dividing line between elementary and secondary education is frequently deplored. It is perhaps accentuated by the different training given as a general rule throughout Europe to teachers at these two levels. Teacher training in the context of permanent education must abolish such differentiation. That is what the Roskilde University project in Denmark set out to do, but it is something which a training institution like the Danish Royal School, even when no particular material advantage is attached to either level of education, is not able to achieve, so tenacious are the models.

III.2.2 Second principle: training combining "training for change" and a link between academic training and teacher training

III.2.2.1 Training for change

It is by no means sure that we are sufficiently clear about the arrangements for transfer to advocate a type of training that would replace one model by another. In any case, teacher training in a system of permanent education must, by definition, be an open system encouraging changes of attitude.

Whereas teachers generally demand specific techniques and courses (as demonstrated by Danish Royal School training curriculum), new awareness and new practices are more likely to be achieved through reflection on what it means to be a teacher.

Strategies may vary, but they generally have one point in common: they all endeavour to root themselves in the teachers' daily work, at a more or less personal level of experience. Such was the case of the teachers at the CETs, who were asked to reconsider their teaching in the light of education geared to objectives and a system of continuous assessment, or of the Kollegstufe teachers who had to break down their subjects into units, components of the "Baukastensystem" etc.

Such reflection also leads frequently to requests for training in specific techniques, an introduction to the production of media material, a more thorough knowledge of new mathematics or information about the various documentation processes, but in this case they have a much greater formative impact than the multiple demands formulated in advance by or for the teachers as illustrated by the list of courses at the Danish Royal School.

The unsuitability of this last type of training is moreover being increasingly felt. Teachers emerge from training sessions with the impression that what they have learnt has after all no connection with their daily duties and can be of no benefit to them. For that reason, the Danish Royal School is increasing the range of training strategies in a very interesting way with training through audiovisual media, training on the "study group" model, training based on the analysis of the problems of a teaching team or an experimental school. Although one cannot generalise, the British Teachers'Centres would seem to offer the example of a "propeller" type of training which might well serve as the "model" for really continuous training. "The important thing is not so much the end product as how you achieve it", as one of the officials on the Schools Council pointed out, and what is important in the context of permanent education is perhaps to get rid of the idea of a single model and to give the teacher the opportunity of creating his own teaching project, of making himself the tools that will enable him to analyse his position as an educator in a group of young people - a relationship that is unique. In this sense, the autonomy of the young in their education probably depends on the teachers enjoying greater autonomy, which in turn presupposes the co-management or self-management of their training.

III.2.2.2 A link between academic training and teacher training

Obviously, a teacher must be well-qualified in his own subject(s) but the reason for thus stating the obvious is that this aspect of training has too often been under-rated, perhaps simply because it was previously over-rated.

However, a number of questions can be asked here :

- Ought the teacher to be a specialist in a given subject, or should he be able to teach a number of subjects? If the latter, would this not be a means of preparing teachers for multidisciplinary teaching? Or, if the training remains short, would it not be likely to make their training too superficial?

- Should courses in the subject(s) cater for future teachers? Or could they share a common core with courses for other professions with similar requirements?

This, in fact, raises two problems :

. The problem of the teaching career : must a teacher remain a teacher all his life or not and, if not, should he not be given facilities for subsequent retraining or perhaps

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have retraining imposed on him as a special stage of his in-service? Similarly, a chemist or a translator might want at some time in their life to teach chemistry or German - and therefore wish to take the extra units which will also qualify them for teaching.

- The problem of the content of courses for young people : perhaps this question is more applicable to science subjects, but it would be asked how far the principle of a common core can be carried. The research worker and the engineer do not need the same type of knowledge or know-how, even if their field is the same. If we want teachers to be able to help pupils to ask a very wide range of questions about their environment - their technological environment for example - what type of knowledge should the teacher acquire at university? Is the specialisation required of specialists useful to him? If not, is a course that shares a common core with others not a mistake?

- Can academic training be dissociated from teacher training? Just as in section II above, we stressed the need to integrate general education and vocational training, here we shall submit that teacher training must also be very closely integrated.

In other words, university teachers will not be able to contribute to teacher training unless they change their own teaching methods. If the models of the "don" and of the lecture persist, it cannot be expected that teachers will put into practice anything they may learn from special courses on the open school or on independent work. Group work, projects, self-evaluation throughout the university course, as at Roskilde or the Norwegian university colleges, already represent a step towards teacher training in teaching, in the sense that they make it possible to change the training model. And that model might be still further enriched if future teachers are given an opportunity to reflect on their own experiences as students.

The change this implies in universities or - more broadly speaking - in tertiary education is obvious. It would mean that university teachers would have respect for educational research, or for education as a science, and that "pure", ie scientific, research would no longer have pride of place or preside alone over the advancement of teachers' careers... This was one of the key problems which the Roskilde University faced and even a specialised establishment like the Danish Royal School does not seem to have escaped it. Perhaps teacher training should not be entrusted solely to universities. But to train teachers outside universities also risks and undoubtedly eliminates any possibility of identifying a common core of course content that could be shared with other professions.

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III.2.3 Third principle: a link between initial training and in-service training

In a system of permanent education a distinction between initial and in-service training is pointless, but perhaps more so in the case of teacher training than in any other.

The example of the teacher training project advocated by Roskilde University would appear to show that initial training, if it is to be as comprehensive as possible, is particularly arduous and can scarcely be completed in the four years usually allocated to it. This seems to mean that the institution must encourage the teacher to take his own training in hand and give him, throughout his career, the means of analysing his problems and finding solutions to them; that is really the very basic feature of the Roskilde teacher training project.

To make "initial" training a first stage in "permanent" training would mean rethinking the whole training system. All too frequently, there are two different structures or systems side by side. Indeed, the Danish Royal School, which provides in-service training, has hardly any contact with the training colleges where teachers are initially trained. That, accordingly, is one first institutional obstacle to be overcome.

There are, however, attempts being made at ensuring some liaison between students doing their initial training course and teachers. At the Norwegian university colleges, young students, future primary teachers, do have some courses in common with fully fledged teachers coming back to the Centre for in-service training. The value of these contacts, the impact they might have on the training project as a whole, are still too little known, because too new, to form a basis for valid argument, but it was interesting to note the trend.

On the other hand, it is to be feared that the efforts made by teachers at the French CETs, or by those in English schools who work at the "teachers' centres" to train themselves have scarcely any impact on the initial training of young teachers, if only because there is no machinery, even rudimentary, to make this possible.

CONCLUSION: NEW FUNCTIONS FOR THE UNIVERSITY

It is a fact that the university appears no longer adequately to meet the problems of contemporary life. In Norway, it is accused of neglecting new fields of study, of neglecting pedagogical aspects, of clinging to academic teaching, of lacking initiative in the sphere of recurrent education and of remaining aloof from the problems of everyday life. These are criticisms which might be levelled almost everywhere. The Roskilde University Centre, the Norwegian university colleges, the British Open University are so many attempts to bring the university up-to-date, although their objectives, their strategies and their material features can scarcely be compared. They have one point in common: the traditional universities do not recognise themselves in these new institutions.

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This is because the university's mission is no longer clear.

It is becoming a point of junction as the culminating stage in the education of the young and an important institution in adult education. It is thus at the interesection of two streams, for both of which it must cater.

Let us consider what changes the university might be led to make in its functions and organisation in a system of permanent education.

1. Research

The universities are essentially places where knowledge is produced, which is to say that research has been - and still is - central to their activities; the university teacher is first and foremost a research worker.

The experiments we have been able to study have disregarded this aspect because academic research was not their raison d'être, especially at Roskilde. However, the Norwegian colleges hope their teachers will devote about 30% of their time to research and that they will induce the students to take part in it. Perhaps this is due to the feeling that high level education and research are linked - something that has never been demonstrated. Perhaps, too, this must be taken to denote concern for protecting the prestige and guaranteeing the quality of teachers from these new establishments, as compared with those of the older kind. Whatever the strategic reasons may be, it is also clear that if teachers give up all research, leaving it to specialists, they run the risk of being overtaken by progress in their subject, and thus finding their competence challenged. Furthermore, the critical mind, independence in relation to knowledge, are likely to disappear and give way to the mere transmission of knowledge, which has no place in a system of permanent education. And it is precisely this critical aspect of university education which makes it a "higher" education.

The university must, therefore, safeguard this mission, but if it agrees to recognise the various objectives we have already referred to in connection with the school system, this can no longer be its only mission. The university must agree to a diversification of its functions, beginning with the recognition of several types of research.

We have mentioned "basic" research, in specific subjects. Although this is lacking - or almost - in the experimental establishments we have been able to study, the research attitude itself is not lacking. It is the daily life of all those who work there: problems of evaluation, definition of objectives, determination of the content of learning units, study of the most effective media - so many urgent problems soliciting creativity and effort on the part of the teachers who have agreed to run these new kinds of establishment. This is research in a social context.

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In other words, if the university agrees to take serious stock of itself, a whole field of research is lying open to it, waiting to be taken over.

2. Training for an occupation

We have already dwelt at length on this problem and seen that the university must bear in mind the economic reality of the modern world. This is therefore a second mission for it to undertake. To refuse it would be hypocrisy - for, as we have said, training for an occupation does no mean conditioning to that end. That is another vast and important field of research to be explored. Roskilde is venturing into it by studying how best the specialised second stage of the university course can be dovetailed into the general course of the first two years, "one conferring unspecified indirect qualifications for an occupation to which the other has accordingly to add direct qualifications".

The university can refuse to do this, but to set up, as in Norway, parallel establishments to fulfil this function, would be liable to perpetuate a false hierarchy of institutions and would not remove the existing malaise.

Teacher training would be a special aspect of this "occupational" function.

3. Continuing education: a new method of time management

In a system of permanent education, the limitations imposed by time no longer exist. At any time, anyone must be able to begin a "university" course, drop it, take it up again. University students will therefore be, logically, of heterogeneous age and experience. They will find themselves increasingly in the context of what has hitherto been known as "adult education". But the university will not be able to undertake this task if courses are still organised so as to reproduce more or less the traditional pattern of secondary education, that is to say if they are broken down into so many lesson hours. It will have to throw off the bonds of time and place (as the Open University has tried to do) in order to meet the needs of a very varied public. But this also raises the problem of the status of adult students and in particular that of their remuneration.

If it is desired that students should engage in research, of however lowly a kind, if they are to carry out a project, the course must be geared to them and its timing must be managed in relation to them. The Roskilde University Centre provides an example of this new management of time, which has become co-management by teachers and students, the former remaining, within the limits of their duties, at the disposal of the others.

The university is then seen as an ideal meeting point of initial and continuing training, a privileged part of the permanent education system, admitting at the same time and side by side, those who are coming back to resume their studies, those who are seeking further training and those who have just left secondary school.

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Closer examination of this point prompts another question:

Should the university provide adults solely with a "higher education" for which degrees or diplomas are awarded?

It is certain that, in a permanent education system, education does not derive solely from the school system, though that is still the source par excellence.

Is it not also the university's role to provide educational opportunities not available elsewhere? Should it not also fulfil the function of a people's university in the widest sense? Should it not, in other words, direct its efforts towards the development of a real popular culture which would enable it to reach those sections of the public with whom it has as yet no contact? It is accordingly for the university to see what place it wishes and is able to occupy in a system of adult education, which is the second essential factor of a permanent education system.

CONTINUING EDUCATION OF ADULTS
PERMANENT EDUCATION AND SOCIETY

by

Jean-Joseph SCHEFFKNECHT

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INTRODUCTION

This report gives a general account of the schemes studied by the Steering Group on Permanent Education with reference to current changes in the sphere of the education of adults in Europe.

Based on the two earlier consolidated reports and on accounts of various visits, it deals with the following pilot experiments :

- Political education in the Burgenland	Austria
- Trade union training F.G.T.B. - I.S.C.O.	Belgium
- the Merlebach collective scheme - ACUCES	France
- Educational television for rural development (Télé Promotion Rurale)	France
- Adult education institutes (Deutscher Volkshochschul-Verband)	Fed. Rep. of Germany
- Cultural and community development in Bari	Italy
- Adult education colleges	Netherlands
- Industrial democracy	Norway
- FOVUX project	Sweden
- LIV project and adult education system	Sweden
- Cultural development in the Jura	Switzerland
- Open University	United Kingdom

Some further examples are also drawn from the adult education expert groups' visits or work :

- ADEP permanent education teams	France
- Open school	Netherlands
- Community development in Liverpool	United Kingdom
- Key qualifications and vocational mobility	Studies by D. Mertens

It is difficult when summing up to do justice to the wealth and diversity of all the experiments visited and at the same time to respect the often specific or unique character of a particular project. Any synthesis gives a generalised and completed picture of an activity that often is merely isolated and experimental.

The practitioner may not always perceive his own situation and individual viewpoint : adults and their problems, even their inability to learn.

It is a fact that our project has made it necessary to select features seen as contributing to forward-looking research and that the author's personal convictions and uncertainties are not without some bearing on the choices made.

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We must therefore make clear the relative character of our analysis and ask that our study be read with a critical eye.

The following remarks are intended to serve as an Introduction:

The "Fundamentals for an integrated education policy" and the criteria used in selecting the pilot-experiments are derived chiefly from those of formal initial education, and the changes proposed are essentially of a pedagogical character. In other words, our frame of reference throughout remains that of a school system and our primary concern is to reduce its disadvantages. The member States have realised this and, with one exception, all the experiments which they have submitted are part of a scholastic framework. As we shall see, however, practice tends to go far beyond schools, educational activities develop outside this context and the very concept of an educational activity is being stretched. We thus fund ourselves obliged once again to define the field covered by permanent education which, as we shall see, is not something that can be measured objectively, but is the product of a political and ideological choice that must be made.

It is true that, among the experiments submitted, we have tended to select those which seemed to hold the most promise for the future and those which allowed us to discuss the most varied aspects of education for adults. It is also true that we have tried to maintain a certain equilibrium between member States. Our study will not, therefore, do justice to the full variety and richness of the experiments currently under way in member States. Not all of these appear in our selection: we have mainly concentrated on those conducted in the most advanced industrial societies: this means that our analysis applies only to such societies and not to those which are less developed.

One of the chief obstacles to a work of synthesis is the great variety of political and cultural situations obtaining in the various States. Of course, advanced industrial societies have certain features in common, but the essential differences are rooted in the diversity of their social systems. Obviously, our analysis is too rough to give a full picture of these differences which relate, in any case, more to the possibilities of changing existing situations than to their distinctive nature. In this connection, indeed, we find that there is often a profound discrepancy between the ruling political power and the education system. Paradoxically, education systems tend to carry along with them conservatism in all its forms: machinery to ensure caution and moderation, the paralysis which comes with excessive bureaucratisation and the essential slowness of any change in outlook or in acquired cultural habits. The fact is that education at adult level still tends to bolster the forces of reaction rather than of progress.

The few really original experiments which exist and which we have studied are offset by the great mass of conventional schemes;

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which will win through in the end? We should like to make it absolutely clear that there is no mechanistic link between an experimental scheme and its general adoption which can only come about through political channels. The progress of education is the fruit of negotiation or of social conflict, since it serves opposing interests.

This summing up is concerned with educational schemes and less with the social conditions which determined their existence, development and general adoption. It is at this level that the current situation must be clarified and the conditions for future development be discussed. The attempt to form a clearer picture of permanent education forces us to consider the function of educational schemes critically and to examine the various obstacles to its extension to a maximum public. The educator's job is to create optimum conditions for personal development; this being so, he is bound to ask why opportunities for personal development are so unequally shared. Unequal gifts, unequal motivation and the cost factor are unconvincing explanations ... Our report must reflect the deep disquiet felt by the more thinking teachers at the role they are expected to play, without forgetting the obstacles which their efforts encounter outside the educational field.

Among the deficiencies of our sample, we may mention:

- vocational training, which nonetheless plays, as things stand, a decisive role in the development of continued education. Some of this deficiency is made up by the work of the Group of Experts on Adult Education. The remainder should be remedied by supplementary studies in 1977;

- the training of so-called "priority" groups: the physically handicapped, ethnic minorities, migrants, the underprivileged... These various groups are currently attracting considerable attention in educational programming. This is certainly not solely due to current circumstances. It is largely owing to pressure from these groups themselves and from the social and community workers who deal with them that the projects designed for their benefit are as much concerned with permanent education as with social work proper;

- the social sector, in which the type of action taken is concentrating more and more on education or on supplementing educational efforts made elsewhere;

- cultural action, which is developing within a separate institutional framework from that of education;

- popular culture and "liberal" education projects, corresponding to a stage of development in adult education, are taking on new forms or becoming firmly rooted in some countries;

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- action by architects and town-planners with their eye on the future who, looking ahead as they do, are forced to anticipate and go further than mere abstract speculation when it comes to the future of education; they are building today the educational environment of tomorrow.

Some of these gaps may be filled before the final report; others may be taken up at a later stage of the "Permanent Education" project.

We eventually decided to group the experiments studied according to the main aim which they pursue: individual advancement, continuing vocational and professional training, collective advancement and political education. At the same time, the real impact of each is such that distinctions of this kind are increasingly hard to draw. In practice, there are strong institutional cross-trends. Education for adults as practised is beginning to break out of its traditional framework and is opening up a new educational field - that of permanent education.

A social project is dealing in legend and fantasy when it turns a blind eye to the practical and historic conditions of its implementation.

The pedagogic approach to permanent education consists of building an educational project regardless of determining economic and political factors. Conversely, an economic approach seriously underestimates weighty social and cultural factors. Our research seeks to locate itself beyond the three simplisms of purely pedagogic, economic, or cultural approaches.

I. INDIVIDUAL ADVANCEMENT SCHEMES

This first chapter describes educational schemes which are chiefly concerned with the individual advancement of adults: giving adults an opportunity to continue or resume interrupted schooling, or to embark on a new kind of education either of their own volition or under the pressure of external circumstances.

Adults who opt for schemes of this kind are seeking primarily to adjust their social position by striving after a place in the hierarchy of occupations for which their basic training does not adequately qualify them. A diploma or, failing this, a certificate of course attendance, is the key that opens the door.

Almost without exception, this type of training is administered in an out-of-school setting (1), forming, in fact, a parallel school system whose main features are as follows:

- courses are conducted outside working hours and often call for exceptional efforts on the learner's part;
- the teachers work outside their own normal working hours;
- course-content and teaching methods are borrowed from schools;
- training centres are concentrated in the major cities, etc.

The type of school which concerns us here thus occupies a marginal position, and its occasional successes are insufficient to mask its many failures.

The main criticisms levelled at these schemes are inspired by their own special features. It is claimed that they correct the educational and social inequalities which result from basic training, but they actually fulfil this function only for a minority of "privileged" people.

Time, lack of guidance, the pace and encyclopaedic nature of the course, distance, the disruption of family life - all of these factors result in a ruthless weeding-our of those who commit themselves to "second chance" education, quite apart from those who are automatically excluded by their working routine (shift workers), place or residence (remote, rural) or level of schooling. In fact, the admission level is usually that of the end of compulsory schooling, and this means that adults who have failed to reach this level or whose schooling is far behind them are frequently excluded. While it does help a minority to improve their position, this training system serves far more to regulate the labour market than to provide the adult population with a real "second chance" or with continuing education.

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(1) Cf. the denomination, "Division for Out-of-School Education", used by the Council of Europe.

Changes are, however, under way. An increased demand for education from new sectors of the population, (manual workers, women), the progressive introduction of educational leave (cf. Ch. II) and growing social pressure for a larger measure of equality have resulted in a general effort to rethink schemes of this kind. These efforts are exemplified by some of the projects which the Steering Group has studied. (1)

We shall consider in turn:

- the main initiatives taken with regard to the reform of individual advancement schemes;
- the various measures adopted for the general organisation of such schemes.

I.1 The reform of individual advancement schemes

The projects observed in this field mainly involve adjustment of the organisation and operating patterns of these schemes: so far they are changing little in their nature, which is still that of parallel schooling, offering what is often described as an educational "crutch". In fact, the main obstacle to proper exploitation of the training opportunities provided by these schemes is still rooted in their "marginal" character: personal initiative and self-sacrifice are the keys to access, whilst social factors and possibilities offered by the labour market determine their success.

Very few people receive grants or leave allowing them to pursue training of this kind as part of their normal daily activity. Educational leave offers the first opportunity for full-time, daytime training alternating with work without detriment to professional, social or family life. At the same time, the leave currently granted for this purpose is still insufficient to permit educational commitment on the scale required for a long diploma course. In terms of time, it represents a contribution which is frequently appreciable but which must be supplemented with incursions into leisure-time (cf. 300 hours in Italy).

Furthermore, as the possibilities stand with regard to such leave it is still very frequently reserved for vocational training defined without reference to any diploma, even of a vocational nature.

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(1) ACUCES collective scheme	France
Volkshochschulen	Fed. Rep. of Germany
FOVUX project	Sweden
LIV project	Sweden
Open University	United Kingdom

Nonetheless, it is only if sufficient time is made available that a system of training alternating with work can be introduced, for the advancement of all and particularly of those who are at present excluded. Current efforts to reform individual advancement schemes bypass this obstacle and concentrate on manipulating the present situation and reducing its drawbacks but not on removing the deep-seated discrepancy between aims and means.

I.1.1 Extending further training opportunities to people with very little schooling

The aim here is to make training available to persons whose schooling is insufficient to secure an occupational qualification and particularly to those who have not completed compulsory schooling :

- by giving priority to the financing of advancement schemes for the benefit of manual workers;
- by turning literacy programmes for foreign workers into advancement schemes;
- by taking special action to inform the public and draw attention to such schemes; (1)
- by introducing "pre-training" courses (building on the learner's past experience, introducing him to methodology...);
- by devising concrete methods of teaching (centre of interest and "technical object" methods);
- by providing special training for instructors;
- by seeking specific methods of teaching (teaching based on a focus of interest and on a technical object).

However, advancement schemes fit into the framework of the school, which they make available again to adults who have been deprived of it, usually after failure there. Obviously, the school system does not acquire new virtues simply as the result of being transplanted into the field of adult education; on the contrary, its disadvantages are accentuated by the various factors we have just listed.

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(1) Cf. the FOVUX project in Sweden (Ch. II), the ACUCES collective scheme and the permanent education missions in France (Ch. III).

There is a great danger that advancement schemes which are administered on exactly the same basis as initial training, may effect the same selection for the second time. However, people whose failure at school has prevented them from completing their schooling and those older adults whose schooling has been shorter than that of their children are particularly averse to, or apprehensive at, the thought of returning to school. It is for this reason that the various initiatives taken have been in the direction of attenuating the scholastic character of these training schemes.

There is, however, an even more basic reason for the exclusion of persons of low scholastic attainment from advancement schemes. Generally speaking, most people in this category hold unskilled jobs consisting often of fragmented mechanical operations, with little job-interest and no prospects. When a worker has been pigeon-holed like this once and for all in the social hierarchy, what motivation can he have for seeking individual advancement which he is most unlikely to achieve? (cf. Ch. II).

To conclude from the fact that technical and managerial staff are more motivated than unskilled workers in the matter of training, that the better the individual's education is the more he will look for further training and advancement, would be the mark of a superficial observer; what one does find, however, is that having regard to the organisation of work and of the corresponding training the demand for training is unequally predetermined.

The problem which faces us here is thus not solely that of the individual's motivation and apprehension where training is concerned, but also that of the technical and social division of labour which assigns us our place in the social hierarchy and has a very direct bearing on our possibilities of advancement and development.

To this extent, the changes brought about by the reform of individual advancement schemes, however important they may be pedagogically speaking, will have only a relative effect on the basic problems raised by these schemes.

I.1.2 Facilitating adult access to higher education and particularly to universities

- by substituting for the normal admission system, based on qualifications or competitive examination, an admission procedure which allows adults at least as much credit for experience gained as for knowledge accumulated;
- by introducing a "pre-training" period, allowing applicants both to make the most of knowledge gained from experience and to acquire the essential academic background;
- by making adjustments in the timetables and general organisation of university work;

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- by reserving, in cases of selective entry, a set number of places for adults with professional experience up to a specific standard.

The Steering Group has probably failed to concentrate sufficiently on this problem; its importance warrants fuller study.

I.1.3 Reducing the "time" obstacles

As things stand, there are three different, but complementary aspects of the time problem :

a. increasing the time available to adults for training by awarding more educational leave and grants;

b. arranging for training to take place at times which suit adults and which rarely coincide with the normal working hours of teachers (evenings - weekends - holidays) :

- either by scheduling training for such periods;
- or by producing aids to self-instruction, which the adult can use at the times which suit him best.

There is also the case of shift and night workers, which calls for special treatment in the context of collective action;

c. reducing the length of training :

- by distinguishing clearly between necessary and unnecessary knowledge (the "encyclopaedic" trend);
- by developing training in methodology to permit the speeding-up of the learning process.

I.1.4 Reducing the "place" obstacles

The concentration of training facilities in towns means that :

- higher education is available only to a minority;
- access to secondary education is restricted to city-dwellers, who still have to make frequent journeys;
- people living in isolated areas are excluded from training of this kind.

Faced with this situation, which actually helps to increase social inequalities, the main solutions involve :

- arranging for training to take place near places of residence and work : the teachers travel instead of the students;

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- setting-up group study centres for persons following correspondence courses;
- developing multi-media systems which afford the greatest latitude as regards the place of learning.

It is obvious that the importance of the place varies not only with the adults' level of education but also with educational aims.

Too much individualisation will have the effect of isolating adult learners in a world of their own, giving them no introduction to community life and no chance to realise the relevance to the community of their personal situation. It will also leave the least privileged of them without psychological, community or methodological support, whereas they are the very ones who need it most.

For this reason, collective schemes strike us as being better suited than multi-media systems to the needs of adult learners.

I.1.5 The setting up of facilities to receive adults and give them information and guidance

Facilities of this kind are becoming more numerous because of the many failures and disappointments suffered by participants in advancement schemes. Their purpose is:

- to help adults to clarify their learning aims and thus to select an appropriate course;
- to help them to form a more accurate picture of their initial level of education and thus to reach a fuller understanding of the efforts they will have to make to attain their objectives;
- to inform them about possibilities in the labour market, so that they do not commit themselves to acquiring higher skills for which there is no demand;
- to help them during their courses where necessary with tutoring or with guidance if they wish to change their course.

In very general terms, it is thus a matter of making adults less dependent on the educational system, helping them to negotiate their course better and, if necessary, to make an impact on those in charge of the training if they should lose sight of the learners' interests.

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The role is not, however, as clear-cut as it seems. One criticism is that it over-emphasises the individual factors governing education at the expense of social ones. Is it fair to help somebody fight his way into an impenetrable jungle when there is little real hope of his coming through on the other side? When we find an adult education centre with an intake of 3000 students for five university places at the end of the course, this is a question we are entitled to ask.

I.1.6 Reducing material obstacles

The trends noted in this field are not uniform throughout the experiments studied. The main difference lies in the extent to which adults contribute towards the cost of their own training. This varies from a symbolic enrolment fee to contributions which may go as high as 50% of the total cost.

Should training of this kind be paid for by the state, like basic education, or should the cost be borne, at least in part, by individuals? Should any positive discrimination be exercised? The answers given are various. Financial efforts concentrate on:

- increasing grants;
- remuneration for working time spent attending courses thanks to educational leave;
- free supply of educational requisites;
- payment for training time (training bonuses).

I.1.7 Facilitating learning

a. by substituting a method of teaching by objectives for the curriculum content system. Initiatives of this kind are concerned with the definition of both training objectives (the 'why' of learning) and learning objectives (the 'how' of learning). This approach is designed to give adults control over their own training by enabling them:

- to understand better the purpose of the knowledge offered to them;
- to negotiate their training objectives;
- to assess the training process more accurately and to keep a check on the work of institutions and their teachers.

The objectives method is the only way of allowing adults to take charge of their own training;

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b. by giving recognition, in courses, to acquired knowledge, whether it be:

- "deteriorated" knowledge, acquired in the course of previous schooling, but not reinforced by subsequent practice;
- "enriched" knowledge, acquired through experience, but which cannot be quantified and rated in academic terms.

The experiments conducted with the representation method (starting from the nature and state of the subject's knowledge) and those seeking to convert knowledge acquired from experience into a more systematically mastered knowledge are responses to the realisation of this need (various types of "pre-training");

c. by seeking to reform the content of training:

- countering "encyclopaedic" tendencies by making a distinction between necessary and unnecessary knowledge;
- using programming techniques for the structuring of course content;
- diversifying the media employed (written, audio-visual, graphic);
- adjusting content to students' circumstances: examples and illustrations from everyday life, exercises with practical applications, clarification of ideological premises ...;

d. by developing training in methodology; giving students practice in expression, the ordering of facts and ideas, critical analysis, the relating of knowledge to action, individual and group learning, assessment, the analysis of situations, the study of problems, etc;

e. by introducing continuous assessment and formative evaluation. Continuous assessment is designed both to take the drama out of the acquiring of diplomas, freeing adults from the inhibiting anxieties which frequently surround the process, and to make for a fairer appraisal of a students' success on the basis of his real knowledge.

In this field, two trends are discernable:

- an "integrationist" trend towards the blurring of the distinction between the "adult" and the "school" diploma so as to avoid segregation and give each the same market value: in these cases training courses for adults tend to compare with conventional school courses;

- an "autonomist" trend calling for courses specifically geared to adult needs and leading therefore to special diplomas, the idea being that "adult" diplomas should have their own market value; its advocates complain that the "integrationist" approach takes the easy way out and sacrifices the quality of the training.

Formative assessment creates a constant two-way feedback between learning and the assessment of its effects. In this way, it becomes a constituent part of the learning process and an ideal way of regulating the extent to which training is or is not geared to its objectives. It is on the practice of formative assessment that the exercise of control in educational matters by adult students depends.

I.1.8 Developing the training of teachers for adults (1)

I.1.9 Facilitating the use of training

- by establishing vocational guidance services to match the information and guidance provided on the educational side;
- by bringing places of work and places of training closer together:
  - alternating theory and practice;
  - increasing the number of introductory and application courses;
  - using instructors from the vocational sectors in question;
  - making adult educators spend time in industry;
  - introducing concrete methods of teaching the "technical object" method, which facilitate both learning and its transfer to everyday practice;
  - organising a follow-up to training;
  - encouraging the interdisciplinary approach to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge geared to action.

Taken as a whole, these initiatives are designed to bring greater flexibility into the organisation of training, to give adults greater responsibility for the objectives, organisation and subsequent use of their training and to train teachers to pay regard to the learning conditions specific to adult groups.

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(1) Cf. J.J. Scheffknecht "The Tutor" (CCC publication, 1975).

The next section describes the various experiments studied by the Steering Group and aimed at introducing an educational system adjusted to the specific learning conditions of adults in a school situation.

I.2 The re-organisation of individual advancement schemes

Several alternatives to the present "evening school" system are being tried out:

I.2.1 The integrated school (1)

The aim here is to absorb adults into the normal school system at secondary and now, above all, at university level. In Sweden, for instance, 45% of university students have not come directly from secondary school. They also have access to other forms of post-secondary education. The conditions and practical implications of this type of scheme will have to be clarified by the Steering Group, which has not had an opportunity of studying a practice of this kind.

I.2.2 The modified school (2)

Under this heading come the various steps taken today to adapt schools to the special requirements of adults who commit themselves to courses of long duration. The reforms we have just described have been introduced to varying degrees in this sector and we shall not revert to them here.

We shall, however, speak of the general effort of organisation which has been carried through. Apart from administrative and financial measures, important enough in themselves (3), this effort has involved the introduction of a unit/credit system ("Baukastensystem", in German), whose principal features are as follows:

I.2.2.1 The unit/credit system:

- allows for the special characteristics of adult learners: it takes account of their needs and, in particular, of changes in these needs, it can turn both practical experience and previous training to advantage, it makes possible continuity within discontinuity, the rational apportionment of effort, continuous assessment ....;
- can embrace all the various types of training: full-time, part-time, in and out of working hours, paid or unpaid, group courses, correspondence courses, distant study systems;
- can cater for a side variety of target groups wanting individual or collective advancement, vocational training, general education, etc;

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(1) Experiences in Sweden and France.

(2) .Volkshochschulen in the Federal Republic of Germany.
.The ACUCES system in France.

(3) Cf. legislation on continuing education for adults in North Rhine-Westphalia.

- means that full credit can be given for efforts that might otherwise be lost, thanks to the progressive accumulation of the units necessary for a diploma;

- makes individualised courses possible by grouping people at the various levels, providing tutoring and setting up permanent assessment panels;

- meets at the same time the need for standardisation, with consequent savings through the concentration of both material and educational investments. The repetition of units (languages, maths ...) encourages those responsible to try and standardise the courses offered by reproducing units that maintain more or less the same quantity.

I.2.2.2 Three levels are possible in the structuring of units:

- fixing objectives, content and methods down to the last detail; programmed teaching is the perfect example of this;

- specifying only the operational objectives which will be the subject of assessment, leaving a free choice of content, methods and media;

- proposing one of the course models, demonstrating the link between objectives, content and methods.

I.2.2.3 So that credit can be given for units, the units must form part of an integrated system with enough units to enable the system to function. It is currently estimated that there must be at least 700 people enrolled for an education system to justify the necessary investments and for adults to find in it the following: reception - information - guidance - counselling - introductory courses - pre-training - teaching by objectives - continuous assessment - permanent assessment panels - individual tutoring - level groups - a varied range of courses - course animateurs - full-time teachers and administrators - teacher training - production and use of media ...

In the Federal Republic of Germany (Rhineland-Westphalia), the provision of these services is made possible by the network of "Volkshochschulen", each of which is expected to meet the demand in an area with a population of at least 40,000. German experience shows very clearly that no real reform of advancement schemes can be carried out in the framework of separate institutions: the objective prerequisites of reform are not present.

This was recognised by France when it opted for a unit/credit system involving the grouping of institutions (1).

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(1) Cf. the CAP scheme in France for obtaining occupational qualifications through unit/credit systems in groups of institutions (ADEP).

I.2.2.4 The units themselves can either be juxtaposed (French - maths) or superimposed when there is an organic link between disciplines. In such cases, it becomes necessary to specify the prerequisites for embarking on a particular unit.

Polyvalent (or common core) units are those which can be put to use in several types of training.

The various training units in a given sector can be acquired in different types of institution (e.g. practical or application units in the factory, theoretical units in the training centre or by correspondence, etc.).

Finally, this system makes continuity and consistency between basic and further education a practical possibility.

I.2.2.5 Unit/credit systems may have the above advantages, but they also have their drawbacks. The appearance of this new, rational approach to adult education and the universal attraction which it exercises still have their doubtful aspects.

There are definite dangers: fragmented knowledge, adult students' bewilderment at the complexity of the system, excessive rigidity under the guise of flexibility, uniformity and standardisation of content masked by the individualisation of learning, isolation of the individual, perpetuation of the division of knowledge owing to a sophisticated educational technocracy...

When pursuing a "deschooling" policy which is, in itself, constructive, are we not actually witnessing the emergence of a new school pattern which is both more insidious and more marked in its effects than that which we claim to be leaving behind? Are we not adapting evening school to fulfil exactly the same function under more acceptable conditions?

Under the pretence of seeking effectiveness, a "productivist" ideology is infiltrating the training sector, running the risk of further strengthening school-type characteristics at the expense of the educational dimension. The most rational elements of education, namely those connected with book learning, are the easiest to divide up and programme and it is these very elements that today are the most surreptitious selectors, lending a semblance of justification to social hierarchy and providing advocates of an élitist education with an objective argument.

I.2.3 The "non"-school (1)

In the case of the modified schools described above, adults still attend a specific institution in which educational services

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(1) The ACUCES collective scheme - France.
The Open University - United Kingdom.

are concentrated. We shall now consider systems in which instruction and instructors are taken to the learners, either through a multi-media system (Open University) or a wholly decentralised organisational pattern (collective schemes).

I.2.3.1 The multi-media approach

Schemes of this kind make higher education available to adults who were formerly excluded from it. The following are their main features:

- a number of places and the corresponding funds are reserved for the Open University within the framework of the "numerus clausus" practised in the United Kingdom. (The Open University currently has 25,000 adult students);
- in principle, selection on entry is based solely on the order in which applications are received; applicants **must show that they** possess the necessary academic background to pursue a given course;
- special preference is given, on entry, to certain categories of applicant (manual workers, women, people in remote places...);
- aims, content and progress-rates are decided by panels of academics, assisted by educational psychologists;
- course-content is purveyed through various media: television, radio, correspondence courses, films, experiment kits, etc.;
- learning is facilitated by:
  - . visiting tutors, who can give psychological or methodological aid;
  - . group learning sessions, which reduce the students' sense of isolation;
  - . progress assessment, which is a continuous process, conducted by correspondence and at the group sessions;
  - . the assessment of the scheme as a whole by a specialised team, in which student representatives participate.

Schemes of this kind make higher education more generally available and, in particular, counter the restrictions imposed by time, place and conventional teaching methods, which exclude too many potential learners and tend to place adults in a purely passive position vis-à-vis the teacher, instead of allowing them to generate their own knowledge.

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They do, however, have one disadvantage, since they isolate the learner, with a consequent negative effect on his learning capacity.

I.2.3.2 The collective approach

We will be discussing collective schemes more fully in chapter III.3.

At present, our wish is to emphasize the prospects for individual advancement opened up by the collective approach, particularly where adults of low academic attainment are concerned.

Here it seeks to reduce the disadvantages both of the modified school and of the isolation engendered by multi-media systems.

Where individual advancement objectives are concerned, the features of the collective approach are as follows:

- it is geared to the needs of a specific geographical area whose population is, individually and collectively, facing a socio-economic problem which calls for action;
- it takes as its starting-point a participatory study of training needs and action to spark the public's awareness and make it alive to the requirements;
- involved sections of the region are responsible for the overall direction of the scheme, and for administration and assessment;
- training venues are decentralised to a maximum extent and brought as close as possible to the students' places of residence;
- training schemes seek to meet all training requirements - in other words, courses geared to advancement run in parallel with courses which are not so orientated;
- the unit/credit is adopted whenever this is both feasible and appropriate. Instructors are drawn from the relevant sector, help to plan the courses and are given special training.

Apart from technical considerations, this approach is valuable in seeking to fit individual advancement schemes into a community context, making them more widely available andlending them a new, collective dimension.

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I.2.4 Towards an open school (1)

This project is still in embryo, but we think it worth describing since it is directly inspired by certain experiments which we discuss in this study (2) and has the added advantage of forming an integral part of the overall educational and social policy of a member country.

The open school is defined as a multi-media educational system, which makes training, education and development in the secondary, university and out-of-school fields available to young people and adults from all walks of life. The main features of the project are as follows:

- Priority is given to an open secondary school, a flexible, multi-media system primarily aimed at underprivileged learners. The system is designed to meet the needs and wishes of adults, particularly adults who have only completed primary school; there are three priority groups:
  - young workers between 18 and 30;
  - married women wishing to return to an occupation or community service;
  - older workers (35-50).

  The first courses will be specially geared to the needs of these groups and will begin at lower secondary level.
- The aim is not so much to democratise knowledge as to improve the lot of those who have either lacked, or failed to take advantage of, a first opportunity. The scheme's initial task will be to encourage the public to adopt active attitudes in the matter of training.
- Initially, the school will:
  - extend general knowledge, foster sociability, train for a wide range of technical jobs and encourage social action;
  - the syllabus will be open; it will take account of previous experience (recognised by certificate), will use environmental analysis and will make room for the study of themes selected by participants;

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(1) The Open School project - Netherlands

(2) Open University - Collective schemes - Permanent education missions - Unit/credit systems - Community development schemes.

- in organisational terms, the system will not be geared solely to formal qualifications : not everyone wants a diploma, but diplomas should be available to everyone. The education system must accept objectives geared to the life of the community but must at the same time permit objectives directed towards social emancipation. A unit-credit system will provide the link between the various types of education ;

- the identification of motivations and the learning of working methods are an integral part of the training ; groups which share the same interest will be set up with a view to collective training.

- The exact function of the media in a system of this kind has still to be determined. Experiments will be carried out to ensure that they do not divert the project from its original purpose.

- The system will make extensive use of existing institutions and of all the situations in which adults find a response to their educational needs, it will mobilise all the agents of education : schools - universities - adult education colleges - evening courses - training centres - women's associations - trade union representatives - staff management departments - social and community workers - cultural animateurs...

- The following tasks will be undertaken collectively : information, reception, guidance, study of requirements, fostering of public awareness, assessment... Radio and television will be the instruments chiefly used for purposes of motivation and guidance, the regularity of the learning process and information on specific points. Written material will be used to ensure the coherence of the information given.

- An essential feature of the project is the fact that it is not designed to disseminate one central model for education, but to leave plenty of scope for innovation. The system set up aspires to reshape gradually the whole education system. Accordingly it does not seek to correct the failings of the existing school system, but to generate an alternative, decentralised system, relying on the participation of all those concerned and founded on a fairer distribution of knowledge (1).

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(1) Cf. opening address at the Bergen Colloquy on "The integration of adult education in a system of permanent education" by Mr. W. Meijer, Secretary of State, 8 December 1976.

Conclusion

Despite the many positive signs which our analysis has served to highlight, the future of individual training schemes remains uncertain.

Obviously, their ambitions are limited by the essentially marginal character of the economic and social situation in which they usually find themselves : they can only develop if schooling is organised on an alternating, recurrent pattern. However, even so, they would offer a future to only a minority of adults.

Individual training and advancement schemes are still basically dependent on social hierarchy and stratification. Even if re-organised, they will have only a limited effect of reducing inequality of educational opportunity, since such opportunity is largely determined by the inequality of social opportunity. Only by broadening social opportunity, that is to say by reducing the technical and social division of work, will it be possible to bring about greater equality of educational opportunity. At the present time, individual schemes, in repeating the main function of initial training, are in fact more likely to exclude than to promote.

The relative expansion of individual schemes during the past decade has emerged as an accompaniment to what we now see as the myth of unlimited growth. Can the schemes survive the destruction of this myth ? Will the current employment crisis provoke a crisis of the sphere of educational advancement ? Will the shortage of openings lead adults to turn away from these training schemes ? The Open University has recently recorded, for the first time, a fall in the number of applicants. Will we see a cut-back in investments or, alternatively, a shift to investment in the short-term regulation of the employment situation ?

It is, of course, possible that the current situation may lead to a more fundamental redefinition of the role which such schemes can play in our industrial societies. This would seem to be the option reflected in the Dutch Open School project.

Now more than ever, the future development of individual advancement schemes depends on a new choice by society.

II. CONTINUING VOCATIONAL TRAINING (1) SCHEMES

The Steering Group studied few experiments bearing directly on continuing vocational training, but, on the other hand, it was led to touch upon this question in the course of visits focussed on other matters. We shall accordingly be placing the accent here on various situations and trends that will supply grist to the mill of the Permanent Education project rather than discussing as a whole the problem posed today by continuing vocational and in-service training.

Training geared to work emerges, in the period covered by our investigation, as one of motive forces for the development of continuing adult education ; in particular it is providing the impetus for a nascent system of alternation. The main features of this trend are :

a. the introduction of laws and occupational agreements which place the right to vocational training on an organised basis ;

b. a new definition of the job qualification-training relationship. Both the concept of vocational training as a preparation for one specific job and its opposite, a too general type of training cut off from working life, are coming under the fore of criticism as meeting neither the aspirations of individuals nor the imperative needs of the economy.

The general improvement in the level of training is eliciting qualitative demands on the part of employees as regards how they spend their working hours, which they are less and less inclined to look upon as a parenthesis in their lives.

Technological changes entail a constant revaluing of jobs and the development of economic activities in general is increasingly mirrored in individual or collective retraining. In this context and bearing in mind the present training and job classification systems, the planning of "human resources" is proving more and more hazardous ;

c. a reform of continuing vocational training centred on :

  - a change in the methods of analysing "needs" and information ;
  - the development of a new system of continuing vocational training : objectives, continuous assessment, alternation, unit/credit systems, "pédagogie de l'objet technique", diversification of places of training ;
  - the divising of courses suited to the least qualified workers and those looking for work ;

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(1) The expression "vocational training", used throughout in this chapter, is occasionally to be understood as also connoting professional, in-service training. (Translator's note).

d. a redefinition of the organisation of work and life within the firm. Schemes centred on vocational training alone have proved inadequate. There is increasing interest in a reorganisation of life in the firm ranging from experiments in new job patterns and the upgrading of manual work to the Scandinavian countries' more comprehensive industrial democracy projects. The effect of the various steps taken in this sphere is to increase the need and opportunity for training. A more fundamental change is, however, the real possibilities they bring for personal development at work.

II.1. The right to continuing vocational training and study leave (1)

The laws and agreements in force in the countries visited set up a system of continuing vocational training inasmuch as they recognise, thanks to various arrangements, the right to continuity in the matter of training.

At the same time they usher in, albeit in a piecemeal fashion, an era of permanent education because they pose the problem of the systematic devetailing into one another of initial and continuing training.

The Steering Group has not hitherto specifically investigated these measures and their effect ; indeed it is only now that these are beginning to have a real impact but henceforth they ought to occupy a central place in our work.

The general trends noted in the experiments studied are as follows :

- The right of adults to receive education, which is often proclaimed in constitutions is exercised through the right to study leave, this being understood to mean a wage-earner's right to participate in training activities during working hours while receiving his wage in full or in part and without risk to his job.

  This concept also covers, rather inadequately, the situation of "forced leave" experienced by the unemployed, who are entitled to training with a view to resuming work.

- The schemes are financed by employers, the State or both.

- Those financed are mainly vocational training schemes or, as yet to a lesser extent certainly, trade union training schemes.

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(1) - Problem encountered in pilot experiments studied in France, Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Norway and Sweden.
- Cf. The very interesting studies carried out by OECD in this field.

- Training opportunities are increased and the public authorities are taking a more active part in continuous vocational training. There are many more vocational training instructors and places of training. The objectives and content of training courses are becoming more varied.

The development of continuing vocational training accompanying the tremendous economic growth of the sixties underwent intensive institutionalisation in the early seventies and is suffering today from the slowing down of the economy. The present crisis is, however, causing wage-earners to take notice. Hitherto vocational training has been regarded as a necessary investment on the part of firms to ensure their development ; today wage-earners see it as a social guarantee of their security of employment.

Apart from the quantitative and material problems (number of wage-earners concerned, training time during paid working hours...) the main thing at stake today is that of the power to decide what the objectives, content and methods of training shall be.

Decision-making power in matters of continuing vocational training lies mainly in the hands of employers and of the State. Trade Unions are at best consulted.

On the one hand it is essential to keep vocational training linked to the running of the firm and to its particular problems in order to secure the promotion of individual wage-earners. Training is linked to the firm's policy and to employment.

On the other hand, the emphasis is placed on mastering work situations, on the struggle against the constraints work imposes and on a more collective, general vocational training conferring multiple skills and enabling workers to at least participate in the general running of the firm.

It is noteworthy that in every country continuing vocational training policy progresses via political and trade union struggles. The differences between the solutions adopted depends of course on the "cultural" disparities between countries, but above all they are determined by the varying degrees of militancy of the unions, by the liberalism of employers' associations and by the nature of the governments.

New decision-makers - employers and trade unions - have grown up alongside the State with its educational system and the specialist associations and are demanding their full share in the continuing vocational training system. The traditional establishments are finding themselves in the position of suppliers of services.

Training is ceasing to be the monopoly of training systems - a situation whose full effect on the setting up of a permanent education system is far from being known. Two problems are already clearly emerging today :

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a. The right to study leave is only the beginning of a process directed towards securing paid free time for the continuing education of wage-earners. We cannot yet forecast what its importance will be in the long term, but it can only increase.

It is already obvious that the use of this free time cannot be confined to traditional vocational training ; it opens up numerous educational possibilities (catching up missed schooling in Sweden and Italy, training schemes designed by employees for themselves in France). Study leave will therefore have repercussions on the whole education system.

b. Today there are two patterns for these new educational opportunities :

- a system parallel to the traditional one, as favoured in the Federal Republic of Germany for example, on the grounds that initial training courses are unsuited to adults ;
- a system linked to or dovetailed into initial training, as in France and Italy for example, where it is being sought to transform initial training under the impact of courses for adults.

Whatever solutions are chosen, the precise role of state-organised continuing vocational training has still to be determined.

It is clear that the process of transition to a system of permanent education must differ in these two cases. The Steering Group will need to take account of this in its proposals for a permanent education system.

II.2. The job/training relationship : key qualifications, vocational mobility and knowledge (1)

The general organisation of vocational training as continuing education alternating with work is accompanied by a more serious crisis regarding its aims and content.

Even a superficial examination of the employment market shows that the various manpower problems that arise are mainly caused by the fact that the jobs available increasingly fail to match the skills and qualifications produced by the education system. This situation is exacerbated today by the large number of people seeking employment whose qualifications do not always correspond to the types of job offered. But the employment crisis is only highlighting a pre-existing situation.

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(1) Experiments conducted by the Nuremberg Labour Institute, Federal Republic of Germany.

Employment problems can no longer be solved either by training geared to a narrow range of occupations or by "general" training. Nor is an adequate solution to be found in a policy of vocational mobility which consists in manipulating the labour market by moving around manpower trained for adaptability. The simple system of replacing one worker by another with identical training is becoming less and less efficacious.

In this situation the difficulties of forecasting and planning of employment and training in relation to each other are multiplied. A new line of research (1) is tending to break away from the linear job qualification-training relationship.

With the mechanistic link between these terms becoming weaker, it is necessary to produce people with skills and qualifications which can be adapted continually to changes in job structures. They must accordingly be qualified differently or even over-qualified. Thus vocational training and general education both find themselves out of favour and a new line of research has been opened up around the concepts of key qualifications and vocational mobility. D. Mertens defines these terms as follows :

> "Key qualifications are knowledge, aptitudes and skills, which instead of immediate and limited relevance to specific disparate practical activities, confer :
>
> a. the ability to perform alternately or simultaneously a wide range of jobs and functions, and
>
> b. the ability to adjust to a series of (largely unforseeable) changes in the demands made by one's job throughout one's life".

This line of research may be described briefly as follows : to strike a new balance between employment and training it is necessary to include in the latter knowledge with the widest possible range of different applications, in other words multi-purpose knowledge, which nevertheless at the same time lays the foundation for future retraining.

The subject taught previously with a view to versatility (the so-called "general" subjects) are no longer fulfilling their role. We must, therefore, radically revise our ideas of the knowledge likely to fulfil that function in the short, medium and long term. This makes the linear approach, which is, generally speaking, the manpower approach, consisting of projecting the present employment structure into the future and so risking the repetition of the present imbalances, inadequate.

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(1) Cf. Mertens : Key qualifications in basic and further education. Council of Europe, CCC/EES (72) 110.

The concept of "occupation" and the current job classifications, it should be remembered, were not established either for forecasting purposes or for educational planners' needs. A person's occupation today is a factor which helps to identify his place in society but in most cases its name does not give an accurate idea of the job performed. Consequently it is vain to hope that better planning will correct the relative irrelevance of the training offered to job requirements.

Many people find work for which they have not been trained. It is, therefore, essential to find out what features of training make such mobility possible and make them an aim of training. This end cannot be achieved either by simply reorganising the education system in units of training undergone under an alternating or recurrent training scheme, for example, or by merely multiplying "general" training courses.

A balance must be struck between general objectives such as : being capable of mobility, autonomy, critical analysis, etc... and general subjects such as : French, Latin, mathematics, accountancy, welding.

Research in the field is under way : it directly conditions the whole permanent education system and it has implications outside the sphere of vocational training which, because of the employment crisis, are stimulating awareness of the problem.

The present organisation of the production of knowledge, the subjects taught and the resultant education systems are no longer an adequate response to the situation.

It is true that a superficial analysis tends to attribute this situation to the social distribution of knowledge rather than to its nature, as when demands are made for an equal general education for all or for the integration of vocational training and general education.

But general education rests on teaching by disciplines and subjects corresponding to academic divisions of knowledge which are in turn geared to the social and technical division of labour. This division of knowledge is adopted and reinforced by educational institutions in their function of reproducers of the pattern of society.

"General" education establishments in fact educate people for managerial jobs. Technical education establishments train the intermediate and technical grades, while vocational training institutions turn out manual workers. The way in which knowledge is organised and acquired derives from that situation.

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By that we mean that the present state of the whole education system is closely bound up with the hierarchy of jobs and that the reform of vocational training raises problems for the system as a whole. A redistribution of knowledge is insufficient ; in practice it continues to bring about social selection. The effort made, once again under the pressure of the employment situation with all its inherent ambiguities, to redefine education in terms of key qualifications should result in restructuring of knowledge and of the manner of its acquisition.

Other experiments - teaching by operational objectives, centres of interest, technical objects, etc. - are directed towards the same goal.

The permanency of vocational training necessitated by the more rapid changes in job structures and made desirable by the growing wishes of individuals for greater freedom in their choice of occupation will bring about not only a reorganisation of education but also, and more fundamentally, a questioning of knowledge itself, its division, modes of production, distribution and acquisition.

Permanent education will not simply be today's education made permanent : it implies a profound transformation of it.

II.3. The reform of continuing vocational training

Parallel to work on defining a new job-qualification-training relationship and to the negotiations in progress to extend the right and possibilities of access to continuing vocational training, work is being done on the actual practice of training.

It concerns most particularly a study of vocational training "needs" (II.3.1), information (II.3.2), organisation and methodology (II.3.3.).

II.3.1. A study of training "needs" (1)

We noted an unusual consensus as to the fundamental importance of analysing "needs" when defining the aims and content of education for adults.

This unanimity reflects the opinion that adult education, unlike basic education must always meet adults' real wishes arising out of concrete situations ; only then will training be really desired and useful.

A fresh analysis of "needs" should thus in principle precede every continuing training scheme. Practice, however, is often in conflict with principle.

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(1) Our findings here go beyond the problem of vocational training and we noted the same facts in all the schemes visited. Their inclusion in our general report is justified because current practices have the effect of excluding the least well-qualified wage-earners from training.

The various methods used to study "needs" (questionnaires, individual and collective interviews, observation of jobs, participation surveys, etc) are based on the following assumptions:

- Each of us has training "needs" which only need to be detected.
- These needs are either "conscious", in which case they must be noted down or "unconscious", in which case an awareness of them must be created by appropriate methods so that they can then be expressed.

Training organised in response to "needs" voiced ought then to fulfil the basic requirements.

Educationists note, however, that tailor-made courses often come to be modelled very closely on the initial education system:

- The demand for education increases with the scholastic level of adults: from this it was concluded that people with little schooling had few training "needs" or were not motivated or scarcely educable. (This, incidentally, explained their failure in basic education.).
- Demand is expressed in scholastic terms (traditional disciplines, scholastic level).
- The value of education is seldom perceived other than by reference to scholastic diplomas and to a social advancement scheme: without any prospect of individual advancement there are no training "needs".

In fact, people who talk about "needs", whether their own or those of others, borrow their responses from the existing educational arsenal: the degree of acculturation to the system is such that the expression of "individual needs" is only the expression of a social need adopted by the individual as his own. This process is reinforced by the analysis methods used which are conducive to both the functions and the organisation of initial training being copied in adult education. It seems that the study of "needs" is trapped in a "vicious circle" in which the output after processing the data is exactly the same as the input.

This phenomenon is intensified by the practice of educational institutions which, in order to develop or to protect themselves tend, often unconsciously, to influence the study of "needs" so that the education supplied very largely determines demand. The result is that the "needs" expressed by adults often coincide strangely and lastingly with what the institutions have to offer.

In view of these findings a methodological approach is being developed (1) which gives pride of place in the catalogue of "needs" to the study of the difficulties and problems of working people

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(1) eg ACUCES collective scheme, France; Educational television for rural development, France; Norsk Hydro, Norway.

(firm, area of employment, occupational sector) and the association of employees and people in responsible positions with this work.

Decisions regarding training are made subject to an examination of these difficulties carried out, wherever possible, by the people concerned:

a. training is once again related to all the development problems of a given occupational situation. An analysis of general problems helps to disclose the cause of malfunctioning (organisation of work - running - information - giving of orders) which is often too hastily ascribed to individuals' incompetence;

b. those concerned may thus discover a further interest in training once they comprehend the situation better;

c. adults can then discuss more easily together how to change their situation and negotiate their training with the educational authorities because they understand better how it serves both individuals and the community.

Such practices throw training open to all categories of staff who see or find no interest in education.

Much is at stake. If training is to serve the interests of adults, their personal development and their emancipation instead of being a disguised means of increasing their alienation (dependence) they must already have learned to express their demand for training, for upon that hangs the whole educational process.

The permanent education project must pay particular attention to that problem for a prevailing trend today has the effect of diverting the study of educational demand from its purpose - to give adults training that serves their interests - although people talk as if this condition has been met.

II.3.2. Information on vocational training (1)

It is often noted that vocational training continue mainly to benefit middle grade and senior managerial staff and technicians. The low proportion of manual workers and clerical staff in general attending training activities is to be explained less and less by their lack of motivation. It is due rather to more objective factors such as:

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(1) Fövux, Sweden.

- the apathy engendered by the division of work into small jobs (cf. chapter II.4);
- the absence of individual or collective prospects of advancement;
- the irrelevance of the education offered to the solution of immediate problems, etc.

The lack of "motivation" registered among most subordinate staff should not be attributed solely to their lack of personal interest in training or to lack of information. Their exclusion from education is due mainly to the structural patterns of production and of education.

The example of the collective schemes which we describe in III.3 shows that a change in educational structures may lead to large numbers of such staff to participate in continuing training activities.

It is, nevertheless, true that information schemes are inadequate or ill-designed to arouse their interest. The Fövux project tried to remedy this situation.

The fact observed that people with poor qualifications and people in a marginal position in society rarely seized the opportunities offered them of continuing their education, although these are particularly well developed in Sweden, led to the launching of the following scheme (which has now been embodied in legislation).

Information on training was made the responsibility of people in the working or residential milieu. These information officers are, whenever possible, staff representatives. They have the equivalent of at least one week free in working time. This time must be used to make contact with wage-earners with a level of schooling below the compulsory school-leaving standard in order to discuss their wishes as regards education and to inform them of the possibilities available.

The information officers receive special training for their task. Their contact and information work is closely co-ordinated with that of a training centre where the information given is followed up by guidance.

The teachers are also trained to adapt the methods and content of their teaching to the particular problems of these people. The courses are organised in the framework of the trade union Study Circles scheme.

The originality of the method compared with the usual practice obviously lies in the fact that information on training becomes the responsibility of workers' representatives who also control the training institutions. The information scheme becomes an integral part of both occupational and educational activities: the place of work and place of training come closer to one another.

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It tries to avoid the obstacles normally encountered by information policies that assume that problems have been solved which in fact rarely are:

- possessing a clear knowledge of personal interests and educational opportunities;
- seeing that a type of education exists to meet the demand;
- ensuring that there is a real possibility of people taking a given course (timetable, fatigue, cost...);
- managing to overcome the apprehension about resuming their education which is felt by people who have almost all failed at school.

These endeavours are similar to those made in the collective schemes to give equal chances of continuing vocational training to wage-earners who find themselves excluded from it by traditional education systems or, if they are not excluded, find themselves assigned to a single lifelong role in the production structure. A skilled worker will remain a skilled worker.

II.3.3. The organisation and methods of continuing vocational training

The efforts made to introduce more equal chances for all into continuing vocational training are to be found again at the level of the actual organisation of that training and in the teaching methods employed. Of course, the reform of continuing vocational training can introduce only slight corrections in the short term. It does, however, indicate what paths to follow in a system of permanent education.

II.3.3.1. The organisation of continuing vocational training (1)

These experiments raise the question of alternating training with work and they study the possibilities of capitalising acquired education and occupational experience. The account given in Chapter I of experiments on teaching by objectives according to the unit/credit system is valid for continuing vocational training.

This subject has, moreover, been studied in depth by the Expert Group on adult education, whose contributions we intend to embody in our subsequent work.

II.3.3.2. The methodology of continuing vocational training

It is not sufficient to condemn vocational training for being too general and abstract or too specific and limiting. A teaching method must be found which is concrete and offers an alternative to current practices.

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(1) Occupational qualifications by the unit/credit system - ACUCES collective scheme, France - Baukastensystem der Volkshochschulen, Federal Republic of Germany.

We saw the problem of integrating vocational training with general education arising in the Federal Republic of Germany (1) but we have not seen it solved other than by the juxtaposition of subjects. The question of an interdisciplinary approach remains open. The combination of these two terms in a single education strategy is being tried out in France (2) under the name of the "technical object" method. This is certainly a significant contribution to the debate in this field but our study of it was too superficial to make a proper report.

These more pedagogical and qualitative aspects ought to be given priority in the Steering Group's subsequent work. There is no point, certainly, in making generalisations about continuing vocational training if what is said is not put into practice. But a personal development methodology has yet to be worked out.

II.4 Individual and collective advancement in the work context and industrial reform (3)

Parallel to the efforts to reform continuing vocational training, the work situation as a whole is becoming a matter for concern. Workers' growing dissatisfaction with work fragmented into numerous small jobs and with their lack of participation in the management and policy-making of firms is leading to a radical challenging of the way work is organised and authority is shared within the firm.

This development is important for the continuing training of adults insofar as it shows the objective conditions for personal development at work. The Steering Group was able to approach this problem via the Norwegian industrial democracy project.

These experiments are of decisive value to the Permanent Education project for they demonstrate that far-reaching changes of structure are required to achieve equal possibilities for training and development. They also show that equality in the face of education outside the place of work directly depends on the opportunities for personal development inside the production structures. They thus make the place of work the place both for the continuing training of adults and for permanent education.

At the same time the experiments which are beginning to be systematically studied by the Oslo Work Research Institute show that: the alienation and apathy of workers are directly linked to the size and complexity of organisations and to the fragmentation and specialisation of jobs.

The individual can no longer perceive or understand his environment and practically ceases to master his work situation.

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(1) Volkshochschulen
(2) Merlebach collective schemes
(3) .Norwegian Drug Monopoly - Oslo
.Norsk Hydro - Oslo
.Work Research Institute - Oslo

The absence of influence over the work situation and a routine, mechanical job has repercussions on the recreation situation.

People who do repetitive, stunting work are caught up in a vicious circle: they learn nothing in their work and their work in no way stimulates their personal development. Their work situation makes them uninterested in their work and in non-work situations.

Over and above these determining factors, the lack of individual freedom and a rigid structure of authority considerably reduce the learning of any organisational skills. The accent placed on production and profitability and the weight of bureaucracy have removed all possibility of personal development from the place of work.

The reaction to this situation that is setting in today is often not without ambiguity, since to allow the workers to participate more might be regarded as the only way to maintain the present power relationships in industry. This trend inspires work on industrial reform, the reorganisation of jobs, the redistribution of power, industrial democracy... All such work bears the stamp, though to a greater or lesser degree of the national political situation. We found the same concerns, if not the same solutions, in the countries visited.

Within this general framework, the conditions under which a job offers possibilities for personal development may be defined as follows:

- it must be sufficiently complex for it to teach something new;
- it must require more than just physical endurance;
- it must offer at least some variety;
- it must provide at least some possibilities for initiative and some scope for personal decisions;
- it must have at least some social standing;
- it must permit a link between work and social life;
- it must offer prospects of development or change and be able to find a place in plans for personal development.

If one job cannot meet all these conditions, satisfaction must be sought by rotating jobs or by working in production teams.

Over and above the necessary changes in job structures, the experiments show that at least some modifications are required in the general organisation of firms to permit such a development :

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- wage-earners must be allowed to participate in the policy-making and running of the firm, workshop or office;

- the structure of authority must be changed: a wider circle must be given some say in decision-making;

- jobs must be enriched by splitting up work less, by allowing personal initiative, criticism or suggestion, by giving the work some intellectual content and by providing chances of promotion ;

- the information and communication structure must be changed (work meetings...);

- participation must be allowed in the management and organisation of work;

- there must be a change in assessment systems (right to make mistakes and to be trained) and remuneration systems (abolition of output bonuses);

- the possibilities for learning every day must be increased by creating a new work climate (learning in groups, training linked to the investigation and solution of problems, constructive examination of mistakes...).

In these experiments we have made some discoveries which are crucial to the permanent education project. These experiments demonstrate:

- that daily learning is possible thanks to the structure of jobs, the organisation of work and participation in decision-making; intensive learning in fact occurs in courses linked to significant stages in the development of the individual or of the organisation;

- that too great a technical and hierarchical division of work constitutes an objective barrier to any personal development and thus any real effort to train people at work must be preceded by a change in that situation and, more particularly, by a reduction in its alienating aspects: work must be divided so as to allow for some participation and self-management;

- that, vice-versa, any change of structure must be accompanied by a period of intensive training based on self-management principles;

- that intensive training periods are possible only if the daily round of work has stimulating cognitive and behavioural features; in a permanent education context learning must really be permanent;

- that a real training scheme which aims at the overall development of an individual must take into account the various factors which influence him, which may be educational, social, organisational, economic or political;

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- that lasting individual advancement must of necessity be accompanied by collective advancement.

They show more fundamentally that the various organisational features which give our life its external structure, in this case the work situation, are absolutely decisive for our development possibilities, so that the part played by training or education is a very relative one.

Institutions can be more or less formative. Our training and development potential depends far more on the quality of the place where we engage in an occupation than on the quality of training.

That is why a real permanent education policy must take into account both the changes it requires in teaching and in education systems and those that are necessary in the organisation and functioning of society.

Conclusion

At the time our survey was being carried out, different kinds of schemes were being introduced to promote vocational training, and, more generally, training in the work context.

The economic crisis which, in most countries we visited, is resulting in a sharp cut-back in investment along with a heavy demand for employment had then only had very limited repercussions. The situation is very different today. In some countries, the momentum of continuing vocational training has slowed down and efforts are now concentrated on training job-seekers, especially young people, seeking employment in response to industrial requirements. At the same time, however, this crisis has given a clearer idea of the aspects on which efforts to improve vocational training should be focussed. Let us hope that it will at least have had this one saving virtue.

In addition to current economic setbacks, there would seem to be two factors which more especially militate in favour of incorporating vocational training into permanent education structures, namely:

a. a genuine upgrading of the jobs and social function of workers in the firm, accompanied by a less hierarchical division of responsibility. We have already sufficiently emphasised this point for it to be unnecessary to dwell on it here. Suffice to say that the importance attached to this problem in the countries we visited differed greatly. The Scandinavian countries showed the greatest concern and have introduced machinery for collective advancement of employees, combined with plans for promoting democracy within the firm;

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b. continuous access to jobs, especially "prestige" jobs. A prerequisite for the development of permanent education is that there shall be a genuine possibility of occupational mobility (promotion within one's field, change of occupation, and region, etc). The economic necessity of occupational mobility has indeed invariably been invoked as an argument justifying such schemes, yet the possibility of mobility is still largely illusory, except in the least skilled jobs.

Besides the educational problems, which we have discussed at length, the rigid classification systems, corporative attitudes and de facto social privileges that are a feature of most "prestige" professions result in the choice of occupation usually being made at the end of the initial training and preference encouraged by the various specialised branches of training, diplomas and competitive examinations.

Along with continuous access to training, permanent education implies continuous access to employment, in short open occupations.

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III. COLLECTIVE ADVANCEMENT SCHEMES

Within the sample of pilot experiments we have studied, those aimed at collective advancement by means of collective training, community development and cultural advancement schemes are numerous. This is no mere chance. Realising that certain activities though not classifiable under adult education in a traditional sense seemed to be increasingly relevant to the concept of permanent education, the Steering Group considerably broadened its field of investigation in order to embrace them.

The study of them takes us back immediately to the work on socio-cultural development carried out by various groups of experts of the CCC. This brings us to what will be one of the main points of our conclusion, ie the need to integrate in a comprehensive permanent education project collective and individual development activities at present split up and administered under the separate head of health and social work and cultural action.

In order to bring out the diversity of the lessons to be drawn from these experiments, we shall classify them as follows:

- activities of community centres and study circles;
- collective training schemes;
- community development and cultural advancement projects.

This diversity can be seen more clearly in methods of approach than in aims, which is why we shall first show the underlying singleness of purpose of all these schemes before describing where they differ from and complement one another.

III.1 The aims of collective advancement schemes

Collective advancement schemes are a radical departure from educational measures designed solely with the individual in mind. Their promoters have seen the failure of individual education as an effective means of combatting social inequality, which they claim it has, on the contrary, tended to accentuate.

This rethinking is the result of the following analysis: educational and cultural inequalities are linked to social inequalities, being the product of social conditions imposed on adults both individually and collectively. They are directly related to the position held by groups within society, to the social class to which they belong and to their geographical situation (built-up or rural areas).

Educational and cultural opportunity is, to a great extent, determined by social position. An egalitarian education given to people of different social classes will not in fact be egalitarian. All the efforts made by an individual to acquire education can change the social position of a minority only slightly; in fact individual social advancement is rarely accompanied by real cultural advancement: "social parvenus" too often remain culturally "out of their depth".

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Today it is clear to anyone who views the situation objectively that education is always a political instrument; it is never free from political bias. To demand its "neutrality" amounts in fact to making it a conservative instrument.

Educators of adults, cultural animateurs and social workers are exceptionally aware of this situation because the effectiveness of their endeavours is always bounded by the conditions under which adults work, live and relax. These structural obstacles are particularly obvious in educational schemes born of crises, whether they be economic, social, cultural or ecological. In these situations priority is given to collective schemes which seek means of combining personal and collective development and social change.

That is why it is often difficult to separate collective schemes from political action, and some educationists do indeed fall into the trap. Most, however, aim at a type of scheme which is not a surrogate of political action and which preserves adults' freedom of choice in that sphere but which, conversely, does not isolate political conditions from social change and personal development.

Tutors and animateurs are striving today to find a justification for their work and to situate it in the right context; many of them voice the complaint, which we must echo, that they are, however, forced to assume a conservative rather than an innovatory role. Political disapproval often weighs upon the schemes which concern us here, for they are, in fact, an integral part of the social struggle, all of whose contradictory features they display. There are, however, some major exceptions to such censure and it is then that the schemes we are now going to describe can be developed.

III.2 Community centres and study circles (1)

III.2.1. Community centres

These centres, set up to serve a municipality, district or small region, can most often be defined as places where educational resources are made freely available to residents. Some centres fulfil this function in addition to organising specific educational activities. They all work on the principle that it is for groups of adults to mobilise themselves to manage their own education, whether for purposes of further training or educational, cultural or community activities.

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(1) Residential colleges, Scandinavia
Villeneuve experiment, France
Community colleges, United Kingdom
People's universities, Netherlands - Federal Republic of Germany.

In these centres, groups of adults may find:

- material resources: meeting rooms, projection rooms, a theatre, an auditorium, do-it-yourself workshops, craft workshops, a library, documentation, materials for self-teaching, programmed learning, audio-visual equipment, etc;
- human resources: an information and guidance post, animateurs for the use of material equipment, technical assistants.

Where these activities are not part of an environmental action plan they almost always encounter the same limitations: they presuppose a stocktaking of social, educational and cultural problems already solved and thus call for individuals and groups who have already mobilised or organised themselves and who have a clear idea of what education can be expected to achieve. The result is that, despite their intentions, these centres continue to be selective and the people who use them belong mainly to the social classes already privileged in the matter of education, employment and leisure.

It is true that a minority of militants can be found in these centres, which can thus play a part in producing the various agents of change, though that is only a secondary role.

It is clearly important to site and develop such centres judiciously, but that is not enough alone, since precisely the most economically, socially and educationally deprived social categories are in a great measure excluded from them. It is becoming increasingly clear that the transition from a system of scholastic and selective education to the self-management of educational objectives and resources will not occur spontaneously and that it must be organised. Some centres are already working along these lines.

III.2.2. Study circles

We have not had the opportunity to investigate "study circles" as a specific subject but we have been able to judge the importance of their role in connection with our study of various other activities.

It would be entirely wrong to consider them purely from the aspect of the organisation of training activities and of their educational value, which is, however, undeniable. They have long represented, much more basically, a substantial and original opportunity for collective advancement at national level.

Through them, the state finances the free organisation by citizens and their organisations (associations, trade unions, political parties, churches) of any educational activity which brings together a sufficient number of people to justify the existence of a study group. A vast free educational service is thus made operational; the only restriction imposed by the state is administrative (number of people per group, educational content, duration, quality of the teaching and leadership).

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The originality of this system lies in the fact that the groups of adults concerned are given the material means of acquiring the knowledge which they feel they need. Annual attendance figures show the impact of study circles at municipal level. The quality of working democracy at local and national level is often ascribed in part to them.

Study circles do, however, have their limitations:

- the difficulty of reaching the most deprived sections of society;

- the difficulty of applying what has been learned to everyday situations. (1)

These limitations are being measured with increasing accuracy and we were able to observe two attempts to improve study circles' impact on working life.

. The Fövux project, which we have described elsewhere, has given rise to legislation introducing a scheme to inform and interest groups of adults who find themselves left out of what has proved to be a socially selective system.

. The trade unions (LO-TCO) are incorporating study circles into more comprehensive educational and trade union programmes which are of the nature of collective schemes.

III.3 Collective training schemes (2)

These schemes have all grown out of the same socio-economic context and have roughly the same aims.

An economic crisis hits an area which provides many people with employment but which is heavily dependent on one branch of industry. Production is slowed down or stopped. Working hours are reduced. There is immediate or foreseeable unemployment. Training is required which permits a change of job which might entail geographical mobility not only for the worker but also for his family.

Thus a whole population finds itself in a situation which education can help to remedy both at individual and at community level by raising the general cultural and educational level so as to enable the region to adapt, providing opportunities for retraining and for general training of a nature to facilitate occupational mobility, encouraging a constructive attitude to the economic situation, promoting collective action to restore job opportunities, etc.

These requirements determine the general characteristics of the collective training scheme undertaken (3).

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(1) Norway and Sweden.
(2) Merlebach collective training scheme (ACUCES). Six experiments of this type are at present being conducted in France.
(3) Cf. Doc. ACUCES: Collective Training and Permanent Education, 1970.

III.3.1. An "intervening" body which takes charge of the scheme with a view to placing it on its own feet

The basic educational principle which guides all the work of the "intervening" body is that of enabling the people and machinery concerned to run the scheme themselves. By defining its educational action as "intervention", this body seeks to avoid as far as possible a relationship of dependency and to make sure that the group becomes involved in a process of self-education and of running the training scheme themselves. The "intervening" body's action is concerned with giving a general lead to the scheme and is characterised by the following stages:

a. the setting up within a community of structures to analyse the demand for training and the community's expectations as regards adult education: rather than taking over from the parties concerned and/or the community, the "intervening" body provides them with the means, methods and material to work out their own educational response to their real needs;

b. a proposal to set up a policy-making body representative of the social forces in the community (public authorities, employers, workers, administrative bodies, consumer associations) to be in charge of the scheme followed by the withdrawal of the "intervening" body into the background to allow the scheme to stand on its own feet;

c. the development thereby of training close to the places where training problems exist, that is to say in the places where the organised life of the community goes on (factory, town hall, school, church, youth centre, community centre...).

III.3.2. Upward evaluation of the objectives and content of education, usually regarded as of secondary importance because they are far from the academic disciplines and the accepted image of scholastic learning

This covers everything coming under the heading of "general" education but which should be described as "methodological" training: development of spoken and written expression, examination of problems, analysis of cases and of situations, learning of individual and group work methods...in short all the methodological processes which permit the transfer and use of knowledge and methods learned for the purposes and in the context of daily life. A methodological training of this kind tends in the direction of a global concept of education.

III.3.3. Education by objectives negotiated by all the social partners and organised in a unit/credit system

Education by reference to objectives is particularly important in collective education because once it is decided that a scheme is to be a collective one and thus closely matched to the needs and aspirations of the whole community, the community must be permitted to define its own objectives.

This process will moreover, enable the community to keep a permanent check on the work of their teachers by analysing the results of the scheme in the light of progress made towards the objectives. This is a departure from scholastic education, because it makes possible real participation by the students and opens the way to the acquisition of knowledge by a whole community.

III.3.4. Tutors from the community trained in the community

Collective schemes endeavour, wherever possible, to use teachers with the same background as the students on the basis that those who know more can contribute to the education of those who know less. This policy rests on the following analysis: every community possesses its own social and ideological values which distinguish it from other communities; schools, however, do not take account of these differences and their teachers are by definition, interchangeable and able to adapt to any public.

As the aim of a collective scheme is precisely to concentrate on the particular development problems of a given community, it tries, on the contrary, to rely on teachers from the community and to train them in the community so as to reduce the risk of irrelevancy and reinforce the community's will to assume responsibility for all the objectives of the training scheme. These people are not necessarily professional teachers; on the contrary, all potential educators are called upon.

It then becomes possible to develop a teaching method which is based on familiar and concrete experience, which introduces centres of interest closely linked to daily life and which is applicable to the acquisition of scientific and technical knowledge, the power of expression and initiation into the cultural and economic world.

The "intervening" body takes over the training of these teachers, at least at the outset, and becomes the centre of educational resources.

The development of the collective schemes we visited is, of course, limited to a certain extent, the main reason being that the authorities tend to confine them to educational activities similar to individual advancement and vocational training schemes. It is difficult to open up the schemes to a more community-based development.

As they stand, however, they show us, by the options chosen, what form the beginnings of a permanent education system might take.

They refuse to sub-contract education to specialised institutions cut off from the outside world; they seek to integrate education with the patterns of daily life, production and local community life by taking people's problems and immediate experience as the basis and objective of learning.

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At the same time they contest the value of parallel attempts to relegate education to the sphere of recreation. Collective education should at all times keep in touch with the production and development structures of social and cultural life and not detach itself from them as the world of "educational" leisure would have it do. Only increasing mastery over everyday situations can guarantee individuals and communities improved possibilities for personal development.

III.4 Community development and cultural advancement schemes (1)

The distinction between these collective training schemes might seem artificial as they both have the same aim: to promote collective advancement through educational action geared to the organisational and operational structures - economic, social, cultural, educational and medical - of the community concerned. However, because of the special circumstances surrounding them, collective schemes emphasise educational aspects rather than social and cultural problems. They aim at the advancement of a community by means of vast improvement in its general standard of education.

The schemes which we now present integrate educational schemes more closely with a more comprehensive process of community development.

III.4.1. General characteristics

These schemes are designed for a specific social group or community and are always confined to a restricted geographical area. They are organised to meet a latent or acute crisis: serious unemployment, cultural and educational underdevelopment, concentration of "underprivileged" persons in an urban area, rural underdevelopment, affirmation of a cultural identity, etc.

The main characteristics of these situations are as follows:

- incomes lower than the national average, high level of unemployment, economic dependence on the state (various social welfare allowances);
- poor health record with a particularly high infant mortality rate, poor housing and sanitary conditions, overpopulation, juvenile delinquency, level of education below the national average, little cultural activity, unrewarding occupations, night shifts, etc.

We might add some characteristics peculiar to the rural environment:

- distance, isolation, depopulation, emigration...;
- few educational and cultural facilities.

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(1) - Cultural and community development scheme in Bari, Italy
- Community development scheme in the Swiss Jura
- Permanent education scheme in La Rochelle, France
- "Télé-Promotion Rurale" in France
- Community development scheme in Liverpool, United Kingdom
- Adult education schools in the Netherlands.

By means of the community development scheme, it is sought:

- to identify the social problems in all their forms;
- to take steps to solve them or incite those concerned to solve them;
- to back up social action by educational action;
- to encourage the members of the community to participate as far as possible in the scheme by defining their needs, problems and aspirations, by suggesting measures and by helping to put them into practice.

The general objectives are:

- to improve the quality of individual, family and community life;
- to extend the range of economic and social opportunities;
- to develop in individuals and in the community a capacity to create or seize opportunities to improve their well-being.

These schemes therefore amount to more than social assistance which, in the long term, confirms and organises these groups in their marginality by creating, in urban areas, positive pockets of outcasts. The community scheme aims to replace the passivity these situations engender by an active attitude and a capacity for collective action to remedy their causes.

The very way in which such schemes are conducted is designed to set an example in this respect: it is sought to avoid social assistance being accompanied by educational assistance, which would be equally alienating; residents are therefore invited to contribute to the analysis of difficulties and problems, the identification of needs, the choice of solutions and operational methods, the management of resources, etc...

Educational action is thus built into a far more comprehensive programme calling on the services of a wide range of authorities: child welfare, health and social welfare, social security, housing, employment, police, the local council, employers' and workers' organisations, churches.

Educational action proper is exploring new paths since it is chiefly concerned with social groups already rejected by the school system and having consequently little desire to return to traditional forms of schooling: if they were useless in the past, why should they be any better now?

The specifically educational side of the scheme may be defined as follows:

- organisation of collective expression and demands where education is concerned;

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- the formation of the various parties involved into an intervention team to establish a close working relationship with the population;

- the mounting of other activities as a complement to educational schemes:

  - integrated as far as possible with the analysis of problems or with case studies and

  - concentrating on matters of social, economic and political importance to the residents;

the main task being to establish a system of priorities for these activities which corresponds to the population's requirements.

Here is an example of a breakdown of one scheme:

- Information on social rights, information centre manned by residents, setting up of tenants' and residents' associations, organisation and running of crèches, day nurseries, courses on the organisation and conducting of meetings (minute-writing, agenda, introduction, summing-up).

- Adult literacy, catching up on schooling missed (lower and upper secondary level).

- Study groups for the critical explanation of the historical and economic reasons for given situations.

- Shorthand-typing, cooking, dress-making, domestic economy, drawing, woodwork, gymnastics, swimming, reading, theatrical production, etc.

And in the case of a rural scheme:

- Improvement of traditional activities, introduction of new activities in conjunction with the development plan: animal husbandry, flower-growing, wine-growing, agricultural mechanisation, use of fertilisers, marketing of products, setting-up of co-operatives, local handicraft production, reception of tourists, provision of accommodation, foreign languages, musical groups, brass bands, folk dancing, etc.

- Training in the management of local affairs, civic education, trade union education, political education...

It is always sought to fit the various activities into a concerted development plan rather than allow them to be carried on as parallel schemes superimposed on the population. They are founded on the principle of the decentralisation of initiative and management and they call for participation or self-management.

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III.4.2 Principles underlying organisation

- All the residents of an area or region to be regarded as concerned.

- Their economic and social problems to be the starting-point of the scheme.

- The educational approach to be a global one, ie embracing problems of vocational training and/or general education, basic education, cultural education and animation, training to cope with the ordinary problems of life (family, work, community) etc.

- Educational, cultural and social needs to be made explicit.

- The political side to be given priority over the strictly educational side and organised action bearing on the problems of everyday life encouraged.

- Representatives of the residents to be given overall political responsibility for the scheme.

- The everyday running of the scheme to be in the hands of representatives of the local population.

- Flexibly managed training and animation centres to be set up.

- Modern technical media to be used and mobile teaching units to be introduced.

- Full-time animateurs to be trained and employed; at the same time generous use to be made of part-time animateurs.

- Traditional channels of education to be associated with the scheme and used; a technical and scientific body to be available for the purposes of co-ordination, advice and evaluation.

- The scheme to be conducted in the public service framework.

- Laws and regulations to be introduced to ensure its adequate duration, etc.

If such schemes are to come truly into their own, they must be founded on social consensus, which is nowadays only seldom forthcoming, save at the level of sub-units of society.

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Conclusion

Whereas individual advancement schemes seek to reduce educational and cultural inequalities, collective advancement schemes try to act on the social framework by means of individual and collective education.

The process of collective advancement arose from the recognition that educational cultural and social inequality are closely interdependent, but the accent is placed on their economic causes and their class correlations.

These schemes are feeling their way towards global development strategy which covers all the problems encountered by the various social groups within a given geographic area and is designed to benefit the mass of the people and not just the "élite".

In fact, this move towards global action is meeting with structural obstacles.

Deep institutional dividing lines keep the machinery for cultural action, social action and educational action in quite separate compartments. However, in everyday practice, cultural animateurs, social workers and educators are becoming less and less able to live with this division which impairs their efficiency and interferes with development possibilities of the individuals and communities concerned.

One fact must be noted here: as each of these fields of activity tends to encroach on one of the others or to use its techniques, it lays itself open or finds itself laid open to challenge. Thus:

- the principles of the democratisation of the cultural heritage come up against plans for cultural democracy; the dissemination of culture and cultural animation come into conflict with cultural action; questions are asked about the role and action of cultural animateurs in society and about their training for the task of integration;
- social workers discover the limitations of social assistance; their action in the long-run institutionalises the marginality of the so-called underprivileged rather than aiding their social reintegration; they no longer wish to salve the conscience of a growth-orientated society which is sacrificing a section of its population;
- education's function as the perpetuator of the existing social organisation is denounced, the mere passing on of a body of knowledge is rejected and the political and technical function of the educator is once more called into question.

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Moreover, there is a growing wish to unmask the political function inherent in cultural, social and educational schemes, to play an openly-acknowledged role in creating an awareness of the conditions really required for personal development and to combat alienation, in all its forms by education.

It is against this background that these spheres of activity are reviewing their plans today, all three of them with an eye to permanent education, which is emerging as a unifying myth and beginning to take on a clearer form.

Today we must recognise their limits. Social change stems from political action: collective schemes can induce political action, they cannot direct it.

The purpose of the schemes which we are going to describe in the next chapter is, precisely, to train militants capable of taking the lead in political action.

IV. POLITICAL TRAINING SCHEMES

By devoting a separate chapter to it we could increase the confusion which often attaches to the very concept of "political education".

As we briefly noted there is a political function inherent in any educational activity. It is obvious that the relationship between education and politics is central to any discussion of permanent education: the relationship between the ruling political power and the system of permanent education is thus crucial to the Steering Group's project. The various models we shall propose for the future of education will depend primarily on that relationship, the pedagogical aspects remaining secondary.

In this chapter we shall describe only those schemes whose explicit and direct purpose is the political education of active participants.

Our views in this matter derive from an examination of two experiments:

- Civic and political education in the Burgenland, Austria.
- The training of activists by the "Institut Supérieur de Culture Ouvrière" in Belgium.

These two experiments provide us with models differing greatly in their approach to political education inasmuch as the societies they propose are different. During our visits we noted cases of political education being offered to ordinary citizens (1), but we gained only a superficial impression and cannot therefore make a valid appraisal of them.

IV.1. Civic and political training
The Burgenland experiment

The aim of this regional scheme is to set up a network of political training centres for the permanent local representatives of political parties, trade union officials, municipal councillors and citizens interested in this form of political education. The task of this network is to raise the level of political awareness, to develop more active and more critical attitudes to the social environment and to develop a sense of democracy among participants.

The training consists of a basic general political education (modern history, political science and economics, a study of the constitution, administration, public speaking, local politics, sociology, psychology) linked to the examination of local, national and international issues. It takes as its basis the social environment of each individual and endeavours to awaken a political consciousness which is both constructive and critical, so that each person can take a more active part in public responsibilities and decision-making.

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(1) "Volkshochschulen" in the Federal Republic of Germany.
"Study Circles" in Sweden.

A certificate is awarded on completion of the course, which is recommended by two main parties - the Socialist Party and the People's Party - to their full-time officials and activists.

The curriculum is arranged in unit/credits and progress is assessed by tests and examinations. The scholastic nature of the course is deliberate and is justified by the fact that it is designed primarily for sections of the population (manual and office workers, farm labourers, civil servants, small farmers, craftsmen) who require a well-structured framework in which to learn. That is why the break with traditional schooling methods is intentionally gradual and slow. Greater social independence would, paradoxically, be attained through dependence on a school system.

The teachers are academics who try to get former students from the courses to take over from them.

The scheme, which reaches a large percentage of the population (3 to 5% in some places) is directed jointly by the two big rival national parties. This collaboration is made possible:

- by the fact that neither party questions the liberal organisation of society and that both are agreed on the necessity for reform;
- by their agreement on a basic training in "general politics", the use made of which at local and national levels remains in the hands of the parties and their internal machinery;
- by their common wish to accustom politicians to tolerance and dialogue.

The academic nature of the training facilitates this collaboration for, by its very nature, it keeps theory and the true problems of daily political life somewhat separate. It remains to be seen if and how far it promotes the practical solution of these problems. In that respect, its effectiveness would seem proven if the whole of a municipal council participated.

IV.2. A critical and self-managing political training
The counter-school project of ISCO (1)

The experiment which we are now going to describe differs from those reported on hitherto:

- it is explicitly presented as part of the social and political struggle and is organically linked to a political movement which challenges the established social order;
- it seeks, through education, to help to redistribute power in society;

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(1) The "Institut Supérieur de Culture Ouvrière", linked with the Belgian "Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien" (MOC).

- it challenges not only the ruling economic power but also the educational and cultural structures that serve its ends;

- it trains active agents of change, and to do so it is developing a type of education tailored to the society it hopes to establish; it is proposing a counter-model for education, in fact a counter-school.

Other experiments we visited had similar aims (1), but the fact that all are situated in a particular political and social context precludes an overall report, which would not do justice to any of them.

We have therefore, decided to give an account of the one experiment which we were able to study most thoroughly, that of the "Institut Supérieur de Culture Ouvrière". If we do so in fairly great detail, it is not because we consider it to be an exemplary or representative scheme but because it is the most highly organised attempt to produce a counter-model for education that is being tested in practice.

IV.2.1. The experiment of the "Institut Supérieur de Culture Ouvrière"

The political aspect of the plan

ISCO was set up in 1962 by the Belgian "Mouvement Ouvrier Chrétien" (MOC). Its general aim is to work for the cultural, social and political advancement of men and women. Its more specific aim is to train a future elite of workers as animateurs to increase the efficiency of the various movements. It is a functional body, that is to say it receives its political instructions from the MOC.

The training scheme is directed expressly towards transforming society and is addressed primarily to men and women who are already committed to economic, social, political, missionary, educational or cultural work or the like or who are on the point of undertaking such work. It is sought by this means to strengthen their possibilities of action in the various situations in which they operate: trade union delegations, socio-educational teams, political groups, church communities, neighbourhood associations, cultural centres, urban recreation centres, school councils, parents' associations, peace movements, movements of aid to the third world, etc.

The Institute's course takes for granted the previous acquisition by the workers of basic training in the local organised groups. The scheme thus provides supplementary training designed to increase the action and mobilisation potential of already conscious, active participants.

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(1) - The "Institut André Renard", linked with the "Fédération Générale des Travailleurs Belges" (FGTB)

- The Swedish Trade Union Confederation (LO)

Trainees are selected on the basis of their capacity to act and not of the level of their academic knowledge. The selection procedure tries to minimise as far as possible the risk of giving long, expensive training to people who would not use what they had learned in subsequent campaigns.

The Institute's priorities are:

- to provide training and further training for full-time union workers, members of political parties and social or socio-cultural workers involved in various militant situations, so as to improve their intellectual capacity and their ability to act effectively in a given situation;
- to train animateurs or politically-minded citizens for political action and cultural animation with a view to the active and purposeful use of leisure. The idea is to give adults an introductory training enabling them to play an active part in the democratic transformation of society within the municipality, school, cultural centre, neighbourhood association, base community, family, etc ;
- to try to supply them with the essential means of analysing society from the political, economic, social and cultural points of view, thus understanding its structure, and contributing to its evolution and change.

Activists' training is based on a critical analysis of traditional schooling. The two main points of this analysis are as follows:

First, traditional schooling is conservative. By ignoring or completely avoiding political, social and cultural education it prevents citizens from understanding their present political and social situation and in no way encourages them to work to change it. Although upper-secondary and higher education is gradually becoming more accessible, it is still the preserve of already privileged social classes. Working class children are obliged to receive the traditional "liberal" education which presents an undoubted threat to their own ideology and culture.

Second, traditional schooling is based on technocratic principles and acts as a "nursery" where technicians of all levels are produced who in turn reinforce the rigid hierarchy of the social system. Education is diverted to serve the interests of a well-to-do minority and the purpose of the established order.

In the light of this analysis a current is emerging in favour of an efficient system of permanent education devised for adults with their help, taking as its starting point the problems of their everyday life and work and aiming at the transformation of society. A counter-school scheme is being worked out gradually in opposition to the selective, elitist, competitive, individualistic, hierarchical and authoritarian education of the traditional system.

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ISCO has set up an educational network which is attuned in both its general organisation and its teaching approach to the political aims outlined.

IV.2.2. Organisation and functioning of the training system

The whole scheme is founded on the greatest possible decentralisation of initiative and on the wish to progress gradually to self-management.

There are three levels of organisation:

a. national;

b. regional;

c. local: class-group and sub-groups.

The class-group situation is central to the scheme for it is here that decentralisation and self-management are put into practice.

a. National level

It is at this level that educational measures are co-ordinated with political and social measures, that aims are redefined and training programmes finally adopted. A small group of permanent staff of the Institute plus an "intervention" team in charge of the scheme. Its main task is to ensure that the system does not become bureaucratic and that the rank and file are always able to express their viewpoint.

It is responsible for training teachers and for general administration.

b. Regional level

Regional centres are born of regional demand and requirements; there are twenty throughout the country. They constitute a liaison:

- between groups of students and the various regional organisations;
- between the region and the central body: their delegates assist in the formulation of national policy. The following matters are handled primarily at this level:
  - . student recruitment policy and methods;
  - . social and ideological guidance of teachers and animateurs;
  - . involvement of animateurs and students in the political, social and cultural conflicts of the region, etc.

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c. Local level

- The class-group

This is where the teaching is done. The class which is held on Saturday, comprises at least 30 people who are on a 4 year course. The course is highly organised and is in great demand.

- The class council

The class council is vested with authority over teaching matters. It comprises all the students, teachers and representatives of MOC bodies at regional and national level. This is where criticism is voiced of the course in general and in detail and where students' and teachers' work is assessed. Future teachers come here to submit and defend their proposals. The critical analysis concerns not only teaching problems but also the ideological nature of the course. The relevance of a class on economics as opposed to a class on sociology, the ability of a particular animateur, the relative importance of the subject matter of a course on economics, the unjustified absence of some of the participants from courses, etc are all discussed by the council.

- Sub-groups

Each class is sub-divided into groups of 4 to 6 people. Participants must meet once a week in one of these. They meet at member's homes and their purpose is twofold:

. to serve as a place for the revision of class work and for practical work;

. to provide mutual methodological and psychological assistance and give an opportunity to compare and contrast training and action.

IV.2.3. The didactic programme

As we have already stressed, it is not a matter of training specialists or of passing on a particular body of knowledge but of promoting the intellectual, methodological and critical faculties of activists. The following priorities where teaching methods are concerned derive from that choice:

IV.2.3.1. Priority to a practical approach and to active methods

Adult education with a view to social action must find a method which bridges the gap between experience and theory.

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A theoretical introduction to the various spheres of social, political and cultural action must keep in close touch with the realities of the modern world and with the social practices of the worker-students. It must be based on the contradictions of life as experienced and on knowledge already acquired. The general method is an active one, passing through the following stages:

- description and analysis of a situation;
- analysis of systems of representation and creation of an awareness of the ideological arguments;
- classification of information according to criteria discussed or worked out by the group;
- verification of the soundness of the reasoning by testing it against real problems suggested by the group;
- organisation and evaluation;
- strengthening of the theoretical mastery of situations.

It must be borne in mind that every group of students possesses, thanks to its social experience, knowledge of its own which differs from that of the "experts". Neither set of knowledge is sufficient by itself. The important thing is to establish a dialectic relationship between the group's knowledge, which is largely the result of reflecting on practice, and the knowledge of specialists in a given discipline. The group then generates its own knowledge.

In this process, it is sought in particular:

- to impart an understanding of the social and political environment by concentrating on the instruments of observation, analysis and information processing rather than supplying ready-made solutions;
- to lend more weight to the spontaneous knowledge and suggestions of groups in the face of the highly specialised knowledge of experts.

The whole process is directed towards the acquisition of knowledge translated into action.

IV.2.3.2. Priority to a comprehensive critical approach

The individual's introduction to sociology, economics, political science, history and culture is designed to give him an overall picture that will enable him to understand and analyse the relationships between the various mechanisms of society so that he can situate himself better in it and so derive guidance for his action.

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This approach requires a critical watch on the ideological content of courses, the ideological function of the division of knowledge into disciplines, subjects, etc. It presupposes collaboration among teachers and between teachers and students; the approach is primarily one of synthesis rather than of analysis.

IV.2.3.3. Priority to expression and articulation

"Taking the floor is the first step towards taking power."

By learning how to express and state their ideas a group acquires greater independence and develops its creativity.

The activist learns to analyse situations and to live them differently. He will approach with greater scepticism certain stereotyped views and the apparent logic behind certain social practices. There is likely to be a divergence in language and in the perception of things between himself and others, himself and his family, his working environment and the various communities to which he belongs. Personal equilibrium can be re-established only through social action.

IV.2.3.4. Priority to action-orientated training

Training slanted first and foremost towards social development and change presupposes not only up-to-date knowledge and methods of learning but also a close link between training and political, social and cultural movements.

The Regional Council is an ideal meeting place for knowledge geared to action and field work. It is here that the ideas of socio-economic and socio-cultural movements join the aspirations of groups of adult learners. To achieve this slant animateurs and teachers require thorough retraining as they must not only radically change their teaching practices but also acquaint themselves with the world of work and workers' demands.

The aims we have just described can be achieved only if the teaching system observes the following principles:

IV.2.3.5. Self-management

The assumption of responsibility for their education by the groups themselves is now accepted as basic. The transition from a system which transmits knowledge to one of self-managed collective learning calls for the gradual, methodical replacement of the old precepts, methods and examinations by a new order worked out and lived out by the group.

Self-management requires first and foremost that the course should be planned and conducted at local level and that the acquisition of knowledge translatable into action should be able to rely on the pooling of experience, resources, arguments and collective work by the members of the group. The whole success of this form of collective learning is jeopardised in groups where members do not attend regularly or do not commit themselves fully. Recourse to personalised training methods (correspondence courses, courses suited to individual requirements, unit/credit systems) conflict with or seriously hinder the collective approach.

This attitude reflects a criticism of the way in which the unit/credit systems referred to in chapters I and II are arranged today.

Whereas the sub-groups are the best place for the self-management of learning, the class council is the place where the rules for self-managed training are worked out and where educational authority lies; it is here that the aims, content and methods of training are discussed and that the quality of the knowledge gained by groups, sub-groups and individuals is assessed. Here too the conditions for the renewal of the contracts of animateurs are decided.

As collective training in practice requires that students maintain a high level of attendance at all activities, it seems logical to impose the same requirements on animateurs as regards their presence at class councils, meetings of animateurs, retraining sessions and group discussions.

IV.2.3.6. Formative and constant evaluation

All the possibilities described above are meaningful only if there is a willingness to measure their effectiveness on a continuous basis.

In traditional education the competitive examination has always constituted the sole criterion and its selective function has proved very efficient. To conclude from this that in a counter-system, any assessment of knowledge acquired must be banned would be sheer demagogy.

In the traditional school system the purpose of assessment can only be to establish the validity of the knowledge acquired by comparison with a standard. Assessment is therefore a judgement made after training and in no way forms part of it. Selection weeds out those who have been unable faithfully to reproduce the standard responses, the officially sanctioned knowledge, inculcated.

In a self-managed project, evaluation is a constant constituent part of the learning process. Learning to master a tool is synonymous with knowing, at a given moment, one's capacity to use it.

As the transition is made from individual education to collective learning, it is essential for the whole group constantly to check its progress.

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Bearing that in mind, *collective assessments* normally reflect the quality of *collective work*. The criteria for collective assessment must be determined by the whole group, students and animateurs alike. For a collective mark to be given unilaterally by the animateur would not make sense and would deprive the group of one of the dimensions of its training.

Collective assessment must not, however, rule out an *individual check on the knowledge acquired and efforts made by each person*. The group must analyse any excessive differences between its members and take the necessary steps to correct them, in particular by mutual help.

This process operates through the *discussions* generally held by every sub-group, in which both students and animateurs take part on an equal footing.

In this way it is possible to judge the standards which self-managed groups set themselves and to regulate the relationship between educational and militant action.

Conclusion

The two experiments taken to illustrate political training schemes represent a dual trend apparent in Europe.

The first experiment involves political *and civic* training. It is clear that the scheme studied offers the possibility of individual advancement to the permanent local representatives of political parties, trade union officials and municipal councillors for whom it is intended. It seems to have a genuine influence on the operation of the particular machinery concerned. It is still too early to assess the collective impact at the level of political, trade union or municipal action. This training, though admittedly not very critical, is consistent with the dominant policy of the country in which it operates.

It is also very surprising that such a large-scale political and civic training scheme should be financed out of public funds and be able to make use of the normal adult education institutional facilities.

The second experiment represents a very different approach to political training. Its educational ambitions are very high but in practice, as is admitted by the persons in charge, inadequate material resources preclude it from developing fully. Suitable teaching staff and the training of permanent and temporary tutors are of fundamental importance for the success of such a scheme.

Despite reservations to which this state of affairs must give rise, the project would seem to us to be of particular interest to the Steering Group in so far as those in charge are not content merely to criticise current educational practice but propose instead a critical and self-managing educational undertaking.

TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

Permanent education is not a project to be culled from Utopia but nascent in present-day education and culture. It is up to us to establish its precise nature and principal function, achievements and the limitations, illusions and contradictions.

A close look at the present will bring to light the reasons for piecemeal adult education facilities, attached like an artificial limb to the fringe of the educational system. Geared to economic growth and social hierarchy it mainly serves the interests of those who have already benefited most from education. By analysing the present, we shall be able to determine the fundamental conditions of a different educational project.

We shall consider later on the general implications of this study, when we come to the next stage of the permanent education project. However, several tentative conclusions may already be drawn at this stage:

1. Permanent education and permanent schooling

The main pitfall awaiting permanent education is that of permanent schooling. A far-reaching identification of the educational process with the school process has gradually arisen. The school claims to be the cradle of personal development whilst the school system, steeped in hierarchy and bureaucracy, sets out to be the instrument for the social adjustment of man and for ensuing equal opportunity. In practice, however, it continues to operate as a system for selecting élites and to justify their political power and social prestige, as just rewards of their superior abilities.

"By giving grades, the school system degrades". Those that are degraded are encouraged to accept their level of education and the position it secures them in the social scale as the meet results of their alleged intellectual and cultural inferiority. In this way the social and school pyramids become superimposed, one reinforcing the other.

The school backs up a system of social discrimination. By confiscating the educational dimension, without being able properly to acquire it, the school paradoxically fosters the educational and cultural impoverishment of a vast majority.

We are not saying that the vocational training provided, for instance, by a technical secondary school hampers the development of all pupils following such courses or denying that, to some extent, it has an emancipating effect. But there is no gainsaying the fact that, apart from a few exceptions, those who take such courses join the ranks of the manual workers, where their only prospect of personal development lies in becoming aware of their social and educational alienation.

None of this is new but at a time when permanent machinery for education is emerging and continuing education for adults is being instituted along the lines of initial training, ought we not to make sure of what is at stake: what are we making permanent?

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Summed up very briefly, we are faced with an alternative:

- Either of constructing a "sandwich" school system, a system of recurrent education consisting primarily of re-organising present school structures to bring them into touch with the flow of life in general, and working life in particular.

  This prospect of permanent schooling is one of the focal points referred to in the permanent education project. First and foremost, it is a matter of setting out school systems according to their dominant function of selection and of giving access to the hierarchy of jobs and powers. The main purpose of such a system will be to reproduce an unequal social structure. It will become an instrument of social integration.

- Or of providing a continuous and effective opportunity of personal development, mobilising all educational and cultural resources at school and in everyday life for the benefit of a vast majority.

  This prospect of permanent personal development and the teaching anchored in actual life situations is the second focal point to which the permanent education project refers. It presupposes that the obstacles that hamper implementation at the level of social structures are removed and it implies a society free from a hierarchy where the quality of everyday life regains its proper place and where productivity is not the only imperative.

However, these changes must not be looked upon as just so many preliminaries: if continuing education for adults is first and foremost to help put an end to all forms of alienation and all factors that diminish individuals and social groups, it must take its place in the vanguard of the struggle against such alienation, whatever its socio-political context may be. Permanent education will then become an instrument of social emancipation, a comprehensive and critical educational approach to everyday life.

This alternative emerges sharply from the slough of contradictions that is at present a feature of continuing education for adults, which it is our task to study. These same studies show that the current trend is towards schooling continuing education for adults, indeed even as far as schooling permanent education.

2. Permanent education and social crisis

The permanent education project took shape during a period when the industrially developed countries were undergoing rapid economic growth. The boom in production and consumption, combined with the modernisation of products and technology, led to a policy of updating and of renewing knowledge, as well as to doubt about the existing forms of initial training.

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Against this general background, legislation and agreements on continuous vocational training were instituted in the 1960s and early 1970s, the idea gaining ground that education should be made recurrent or permanent.

Intellectual activity or, quite simply, professional know-how became major factors in renewal of the labour force. Conversely, the rising standard of living and a relative increase in leisure time gave rise to individual and collective aspirations to be better informed and to enjoy a richer way of life and work.

However, side by side with all who benefited, the ranks of those who were deprived of the fruits of economic growth were swelling: young people and women seeking employment or professional experience, the unemployed, migrants, prisoners, young offenders, inhabitants of rural areas, craftsmen and small shopkeepers, etc.

While continuing education was being mobilised to meet the needs of economic growth and for the benefit of the better-off, it was also being exploited to alleviate or conceal the ill-effects of that expansion: education thus became both a contributing growth and social welfare factor.

It is also true, as we pointed out at the beginning of this study, that this period produced important educational and cultural schemes that broke sharply with official policies: alternative schools, para-school activities, group and community schemes, self-managed educational activities, unauthorised schools and radio stations, street theatre groups, etc. Whether or not these schemes were isolated features or the leaven of a deep-rooted educational and cultural revival, it was, in any event, against this very general background, where economic considerations provided the main impulse to development of education, that the Council of Europe's "Permanent Education" project saw the light of day and studies were made of the pilot experiments described above. They must all be seen in relation to a specific economic situation within the framework of given social structures.

We may ask whether the situation is still the same at the time of writing this report. Has not the economic crisis which has us in its grip profoundly undermined our belief in our model of growth and in particular in what was thought to be steady progress towards permanent education?

But the economic crisis is accompanied by a general lassitude towards uncontrolled growth. The slogans of May 68 are being reiterated with renewed force. In demanding the right to work, people are at the same time perturbed about the quality of life. The desire for social advancement, too, is tempered by concern about the quality of life. Ecological movements are becoming a political force to be reckoned with. Is all this merely the sign of a transitory tremor or an indication of deep-seated upheaval? The answer lies with the social protagonists.

In our view, paradoxical as it may seem, it is in a possible new economic and social future that permanent education may come fully into its own. In any event, it will be essential in building such a future.

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ANNEXE

APPENDIX

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